

Dating the war of the Hyksos

Abstract. The three Hyksos dynasties (XIV, XV, XVI) ruled Egypt approximately from 1750 to 1530 BCE and then disappear abruptly after the death of Pharaoh Seqenenre Taa. One can notice that Egyptian documents unanimously describe the departure of the Hyksos from Egypt to Palestine in a disaster. Modern Egyptologists pictured a 'war of the Hyksos', however no document speaks of war but only that Avaris, Hyksos' capital, was looted and vandalized after their departure. Moreover all accounts of former historians picture the Hyksos as the ancestors of the Hebrews, led into Palestine under the leadership of Moses. In addition both biblical and Egyptian chronologies date the Hyksos departure in 1533 BCE, which implies the coincidence of these two dramatic events. The only way to date the so-called "Hyksos war" is: gathering all historical and archaeological documents about the Hyksos, establishing a relative chronology of the "Hyksos war", identifying who was Apopi and his links with the biblical Moses, determining from where came the Hyksos and where did they go, dating the Hyksos war according to the Egyptian chronology through synchronisms dated by astronomy and dating the Exodus according to the Israelite chronology (based on masoretic text) checked by absolute dates.

According to Egyptian accounts the last king of the XVth dynasty, named Apopi, "very pretty" in Hebrew that is Moses' birth name (Exodus 2:2), reigned 40 years in Egypt from 1613 to 1573 BCE. 40 years later Apopi met Seqenenre Taa the last pharaoh of the XVIIth dynasty and gave him an unspecified disturbing message. The eldest son of Seqenenre Taa, Ahmose Sapaïr, who was crown prince died in a dramatic and unexplained way shortly before his father. Seqenenre Taa died in May 1533 BCE, after 11 years of reign, in dramatic and unclear circumstances. The state of his mummy proves, however, that his body received severe injuries and remained abandoned for several days before being mummified (see Psalms 136:15). Prince Kamose, Seqenenre Taa's brother, assured interim of authority for 3 years and threatened attack the former pharaoh Apopi, new prince of Retenu (Palestine). In the stele of the Tempest he also blames Apopi for all the disasters that come to fall upon Egypt which caused many deaths.

Modern Egyptologists suppose that: *The Hyksos dynasty (XV) reigned a hundred years in Egypt, succumbing only after a struggle that was very difficult for Egyptian nationalist Pharaohs, whom at least one of them was killed (Seqenenre Taa). Kamose began the liberation war, but it is Ahmose who definitively eradicated the Hyksos domination by taking Avaris and Sharuben¹. C. Vandersleyen², despite offering a fictionalized version of the 'liberation war of the Hyksos', notes that: The New Kingdom began in a strange silence of the sources. What happened there after the 3rd year of Kamose? (...) It is curious that the most important event in the history of Egypt during an entire millennium, the annihilation of the population of the Hyksos, was ignored in the inscriptions of King Ahmose dealing with something quite different: a storm that destroyed the cemetery of Thebes, his concern about the perpetuation of his grandmother, Queen Teti-Sheri, some gifts offered to the temple of Amun at Karnak, the wise government of his mother, Queen Abhotep, etc., but not the main conquest of his reign. He also argues that there is no archaeological evidence of the Exodus under Ramses II and, therefore, that the biblical Exodus under this Pharaoh would be a pious story, written after the fact, embellished for posterity, which is the frequent conclusion of specialists³! Concerning the chronology he acknowledges that: All these calculations lead us well before Ramses II, and specifically in the 16th century. No doubt the reliability of these chronologies is unproven, but they are spaced apart — whereas they exist — because they contradict the low dating of the Exodus that is not based on*

¹ J. YOYOTTE – Dictionnaire des pharaons
Paris 1998 Éd. Noésis p. 85.

² C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France p. 190, 193, 213, 232-237.

³ E. BLOCH-SMITH - Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology preserves what is remembered and what is forgotten in Israel's history
in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122/3 (2003) pp. 401-425
R. HENDEL - The Exodus in Biblical Memory
in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120/4 (2001) pp. 601-622.

any document (...) and should we push back the Exodus to the 16th century? (...) It was noted that all proposed solutions to the problems of the Exodus are speculative and ignore infrequent figures preserved in the Bible and Manetho. But the date given by Manetho — that the Exodus took place under Ahmose — is the only one truly accurate (...) In short, whatever the objections of exegetes today, we must not reject a priori to study the problem of Exodus in connection with the expulsion of the Hyksos. The Egyptologist J. Assmann⁴, also believing in the 'liberation war of the Hyksos', notes however that: *All the extra-Biblical versions agree that the aliens, or impure ones, are driven out of Egypt. In the Bible, the Hebrews are retained in Egypt against their will and they are allowed to emigrate only after divine interventions in the form of the plagues. But even in this version the account of the emigration contains elements of expulsion. Of course, it would be most instructive to confront these different versions with what could constitute historical evidence, but there is almost no such evidence. The only historical evidence which is both archaeologically provable and semantically comparable with the content of these different versions of the expulsion/emigration story is the sojourn of the Hyksos in Egypt. If we apply the same question asked previously about the Amarna experience to the Hyksos tradition and if we remain on the lookout for what might have become of the memories that must have been shared by the expelled tribes about their stay in, and domination of Egypt, we find ourselves again referred to the Exodus tradition. I completely agree with Flavius Josephus and Donald B. Redford, who has held in various publications that the Hyksos' sojourn in, and withdrawal from, Egypt was all that happened in terms of historical fact.*

The name and order of some pharaohs based on archaeological finding remain controversial but the following chronological framework is now accepted⁵:

Strata	Period	Egyptian Dynasty	Vizier	Asiatic Dynasty	Capital
MB IIA	1975-1778	12 th (Lisht/ [Memphis])	Yes		
MB IIB	1778-1750?	13 th (Lisht/ [Memphis])	Yes		
MB IIB	1750?-1680?		Yes	14 th (Hyksos)	Tanis
MB IIC	1680?-1613	(Thebes)	-	15 th (Great Hyksos)	Avaris
MB IIC	1613-1573		-	Apopi	"
	1573-1544	17 th (Thebes)	-	16 th (Theban kings)	Edfu?
	1544-1533	Seqenenre Taa	-		"
LB AI	1533-1530	Kamose	-	Apopi (=Moses) Hyksos' War	
	1530 -	18 th (Thebes)		Moses (Exodus)	(Sinai)
	-1505	Ahmose	Yes		(1533-1493)
	1505-1472	Thutmose I	Yes	Joshua in Palestine	Jerusalem

According to dating Middle Bronze Age strata⁶ (+/- 30 years), the first part of the 13th Dynasty could be dated 1750-1650 BCE (MB IIB), the 15th Dynasty in 1650-1550 BCE (MB IIC) and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty in 1550 BCE (LB AI). The material culture of the Canaanite settlers in the eastern Delta displays a distinct similarity to the material culture found at Middle Bronze Age sites in Palestine⁷ and studies of scarabs of the Middle Bronze period from both region argue for the southern Levant as the place of origin of the Second Intermediate Period foreign rulers in Egypt⁸. The site of Tell el-Dab'a, identified with ancient Avaris, was recently identified with the New Kingdom port of *Pṛw Nḫr*, when two possible harbours were found⁹.

⁴ J. ASSMANN – The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism
Cambridge 1997 Ed. Harvard University Press pp. 40-41.

⁵ D. FRANKE – The 13th to 17th Dynasties: chronological framework
in: *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th Dynasties* Vol I:1 (The British Museum, 2013) pp. 7-13.

⁶ M. BIETAK – Egypt and Canaan During the Middle Bronze Age
in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 281 (1991) pp. 27-72.

⁷ D. BEN-TOR – Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period
in: *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 27 (2007) pp. 1-3.

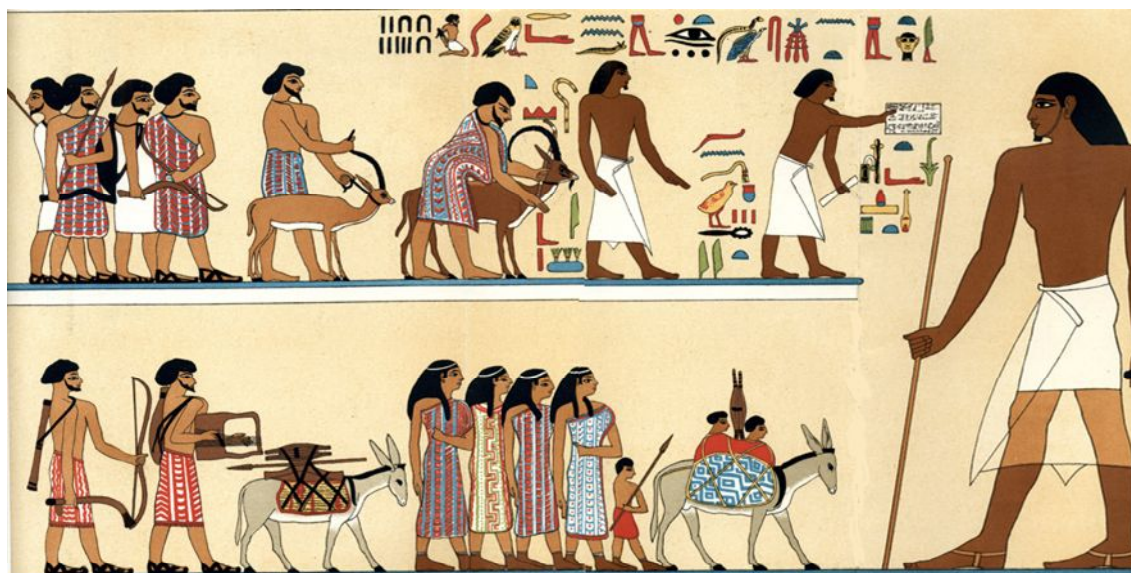
⁸ D. BEN-TOR – Can Scarabs Argue for the Origin of the Hyksos
in: *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1:1 (2009) pp. 1-7.

⁹ B. BADER – Traces of Foreign Settlers in the Archaeological Record of Tell el-Dab'a
in: *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 202, 2011)* pp. 137-158.

THE HYKSOS ACCORDING TO HISTORICAL AND ARCHEOLOGICAL DOCUMENTS

The Hyksos (*hq3w h3swt*, “rulers of foreign lands”) must be understood as a foreign dynasty that rules Egypt c. 1640-1530 BCE¹⁰. Their power was rooted in a population of Near Eastern origin. Where they came from, how they came to power and how they manage to assert themselves in Egypt are still matters of ongoing debate. Flavius Josephus used the designation “Hyksos” incorrectly as a kind of ethnic term for people of foreign origin who seized power in Egypt for a certain period. In this sense, for sake of convenience, it is also used in this article. One should never forget, however, that, strictly spoken, the term “Hyksos” (*ḥqꜣ' ḥꜣꜣt*) were only used by Egyptians to indicate a “ruler of foreign lands” resident in Egypt but native from Retenu (Syro-Palestine). The title *ḥqꜣ' aa* “Great ruler” was also used to designate some Pharaohs (as Seqenenre Taa).

An illustration often cited as a classic example of Egyptian-Asiatic contact in the early Middle Kingdom is the painting in Tomb No. 3 at Beni Hasan¹¹. The Tomb belongs to the nomarch Khnumhotep III, who is also an “Overseer of the Eastern Hill Countries”. Besides illustrating the presentation of various types of “cattle” to the nomarch, the painting depicts the arrival of a group of 37 Asiatics who are being led by an Egyptian with the title “Overseer of hunters”. The Asiatics are bearded, and wear the traditional dress of Semites as depicted in Egyptian artwork; they carry weapons typical of Middle Bronze Age Canaan, including what appear to be composite bows and a “duckbilled” axe. One of the inscriptions that accompanies the painting describes the arrival of the “Asiatics”, led by Absha (*Ibš3*), a “ruler of a foreign land (*hq3 h3st*)”, who are bringing black eye-paint to the nomarch Khnumhotep, here designated as the “Administrator of the Eastern Desert” in the 6th year of Senwosret II's reign (1863-1855). Absha, Hyksos' name, is Semite and means maybe “Father of prince” (Abshar)¹².



As Galena, the material from which the black eye-paint is ground, is commonly found along the Red Sea coast and near Aswan, these Asiatics may perhaps be Bedouins from Shu[t]ju (Moab), and thus do not necessarily represent contemporary Canaanites. It is possible that the Beni Hasan tomb painting may represent an example of official contact

¹⁰ M. BIETAK – From Where Came the Hyksos and Where did they go? in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 139-181.

¹¹ S.L. COHEN - Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections Indiana 2002, Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 33-50.

¹² The sound r is often rendered by an Egyptian 3 at this time, but the reading Abshay “Father of gift” (2Sam 10:10) is also possible.

between Egypt and the inhabitants of Canaan, and one which points to a relatively peaceful style of interaction, the same depicted in the Tale of Sinuhe.

Some of the earliest evidence relating to Egyptian contact with the southern Levant during the Middle Bronze Age comes from the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom itself, during the reign of Mentuhotep II (2045-1994). A fragmentary stele found in a secondary context in 18th dynasty palace at El-Deir represents one of Mentuhotep's monument that might describe an historical occurrence rather than simply presenting a standardized and traditional bellicose attitude toward Asiatics and other foreigners. The stele recounts a military expedition and mentions (line x + 8): the hinterland, the Qedem lands and possibly an additional statement about easterners. As Qedem is the same Semitic term meaning "the East" used by Sinuhe to describe the region in which he spent most of his exile after he reached Byblos, this may indicate that part of this particular campaign or military conflict occurred somewhere in the Levant (probably Liban).

The extent of contact with Canaan, and Egyptian views of Asiatics, do not appear to change in any significant way during the reign of Amenemhet I (1975-1946). Although the evidence is slight, "The Prophecy of Neferti", a text associated with Amenemhet I makes mention of Asiatics: *He (Neferti) was concerned for what would happen in the land. He thinks about the condition of the east. Asiatics (ʿ3mw) travel with their swords, terrorizing those who are harvesting, seizing the oxen from the plow (...) All happiness has gone away, the land is cast down in trouble because of those feeders, Asiatics (Styw) who are throughout the land. Enemies have arisen in the east, Asiatics (ʿ3mw) have come down to Egypt. A fortress is deprived of another beside it, the guards do not pay attention of it (...) Asiatics (ʿ3mw) will fall to his sword, Libyans will fall to this flame, rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might, as the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels to him. One will build the "Wall of the Ruler", life prosperity and health, to prevent Asiatics (ʿ3mw) from going down into Egypt*¹³.

The Egyptian words Aamu (ʿ3mw) and Retenu (Rt~~nm~~) are usually translated as "Asiatics" and "Syria-Palestine", they fit well to the biblical terms "people of Canaan" and "Canaan". As the Execration Texts¹⁴ transcribe the names Ascalon and Jerusalem by ʿIsq3mw (Ašqalun) and 3wš3mm ([U]rusalimum), the Egyptian letter 3 being used for sound r/l (up to -1800), the word ʿ3mw, could be read Aramu "those of Aram". The region of Aram is very ancient, it appears as A-ra-me^{ki} in inscriptions of Naram-Sin (2163-2126), but its location seems to have changed over time, from area of Akkad to Syria¹⁵. "Aramean ancestor" is rendered "Syrian" in the Septuagint (Deuteronomy 26:5). The Egyptian word Setiu (Styw) is also translated as "Asiatics", but refers more specifically to Suteans [of Moab]. When Idrimi (1500-1470) fled to the south of Syria, he met the Sutu [Suteans], and then lived 7 years with the Habiru [Hebrews] in the country of *Ki-in-a-nim*^{ki} [Canaan]¹⁶. This term Canaan, which is Semitic, does not appear in Egyptian texts, moreover, because of migration, it has designated different areas: Lebanon at the time of Ebla¹⁷, circa -2300, Upper Mesopotamia at the time of Mari, c. -1800 (*Ki-na-ab-nu*)¹⁸, Syria-Palestine at the time of Idrimi (c. -1500), Philistia at the time of Merenptah (c. -1200).

¹³ J.K. HOFFMEIER – Israel in Egypt. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition New York 1996 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 58-59.

¹⁴ R. DUSSAUD – Nouveaux textes égyptiens d'exécution contre les peuples syriens in: *Syria* 21:2 (1940) pp. 170-182

¹⁵ E. LIPINSKI – The Aramaeans. Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion in: *Analecta* 100, Peeters 2000, pp. 25-40.

¹⁶ P. GARELLI, J.M. DURAND, H. GONNET, C. BRENIQUET - Le Proche-Orient Asiatique Paris 1997 Éd. P.U.F. pp. 139-140.

¹⁷ *kù nig-ba* ^dBE(lum) *Ga-na-na-im* "gift (for) the lord of Canaan"; *é* ^dGa-na-na-im "temple of divine Canaan"

J.N. TUBB – Peoples of the Past. Canaanites London 1998 Ed. British Museum p. 15.

A. ARCHI –The Head of Kura-The Head of ʿAdabal in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 64:2 (2005) pp. 81-100.

¹⁸ G. DOSSIN – Une mention des Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari in: *Syria* n°50 1973, pp. 277-282.

Egypt's Asiatic policy appears to have changed during the reign of Amenemhet I's successor. 'The Tale of Sinuhe', a fictional account composed during the reign of Senwosret I (1946-1901), indicates an increased interest in the southern Levant and its inhabitants. The Egypto-Canaanite relationship portrayed in the story continues to be one of détente and reasonably cordial relations. Several elements in the story relate peaceful encounters between Egyptians and Canaanites. When Sinuhe leaves Egypt and travels out into the desert, he is saved by a group of Bedouins, the chief of whom is described as "a man who had been in Egypt". Furthermore, the Bedouin chief is said to "recognize" Sinuhe; thus, not only had the chief been in Egypt, but he may also have been in the capital, which where Sinuhe, as a courtier, would have resided prior to his flight. This incident may indicate that, despite the bellicose rhetoric about smiting and crushing sand-dwellers and the like, there were comparatively peaceful relations between the Egyptians and their Asiatic neighbours. One reads: *I gave a road to my feet northward and attained the Wall of the Prince, which was made to repel the Asiatics (Styw) and to crush the Sandfarers (...) I set forth to Byblos; I pushed on to Qedem. I spent half a year there; then Amu-son-of-Ensi, prince of Upper Retenu, took me and said to me: Thou farest well with me, for thou hearest the tongue of Egypt. This he said, for that he had become aware of my qualities, he had heard of my wisdom; Egyptian folk, who were there with him, had testified concerning me (...) I spent many years, and my children grew up as mighty men, each one controlling his tribe (...) for this prince of Retenu (hq3 pn n Rtnw) caused me to pass many years as commander of his host (...) His Majesty sent to me with gifts of the Royal bounty, and gladdened the heart of this his servant, as it had been the ruler of any foreign country (hq3 n h3st) Thou hast traversed the foreign lands and art gone forth from Qedem to Retenu (...) The Asiatics ('3mw) shall not convert thee (...) Let now Thy Majesty cause to be brought Ma[?]ki from Qedem (...) Then His Majesty said to the Royal Consort: "Behold Sinuhe, who is come as an Asiatic ('3m), an offspring of Asiatics(Styw)-folk".*

Considerable details indicating increased Egyptian activity and interest in Canaan can be found in a fragmentary inscription dating to Amenemhet II (1901-1863). From his Annals one reads¹⁹: *Number of prisoners brought from these foreign lands: 1554 Asiatics ([3]m); as slave tribute from Levantine rulers: 1002 Asiatics ([3]m)*. If Egyptian inscriptions mention traditionally 9 hereditary enemies, their representations are limited to Asiatics in the north and Nubians (Cushites) in the south. A gold pectoral from the tomb of Khnumhotep II (opposite figure), for example, describes an elite Hyksos man with thick hair, small beard and two bands crossed over the chest. Khnumhotep II was a nomarch during the reigns of Amenemhet II (1901-1863), Senwosret II (1863-1855) and Senwosret III (1855-1836).



The impression of peaceful relations gains support from the several graffiti that describe the visit of "the brother of the prince of Retenu, Khebbed" at the Egyptian mines. A relief scene, dating to Amenemhet III (1836-1791), depicts the arrival of this individual. Khebbed comes to the Sinai mines at Serabit el-Khadim riding on a donkey which is led by one man²⁰, and driven from behind by another. The skin of the men is painted



¹⁹ K.A. KITCHEN - On the Reliability of the Old Testament
Cambridge 2003 Ed. W.B. Eerdmans p. 636.

²⁰ P. TALLET - Sésostris III et la fin de la XIIe dynastie
Paris 2005 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 160-162.

yellow (following the Egyptian convention for Asiatics). They wear short kilts, and, significantly, they are armed, thus reinforcing the impression that the Egyptians have not coerced the Asiatics into participating in the campaigns. Other Sinai inscriptions list Asiatics among the participants of the expedition. For example, an inscription dating to Senwosret III (1855-1836), lists “the Asiatic Rua, possessor of honour”, last in a series of officials carved on the apron of a statue assumed to be of the king. Inscriptions, from Amenemhet III (1836-1791) and from Amenemhat IV (1791-1782), mention the participation of 10 and 20 Asiatics (*ʿ3mm*) from Retenu, respectively.

Although the decrease in both quality and quantity of monuments, public buildings, and other forms in Egypt reveals a downward trend, Egypt's power and prestige abroad do not seem to have weakened until well into the 13th dynasty. Although no monuments or inscriptions exist which speak specifically of Egyptian-Canaanite relations, a relief at Byblos shows the local prince doing homage to Neferhotep I (1700-1685?), one of the more powerful and longer-lived kings of the 13th dynasty. Beginning with the Late 12th dynasty²¹, the rulers of Byblos styled themselves *ḥ3ḥy-‘n kḥny*, ‘Governor of Byblos’. The title *ḥ3ḥy-‘n GN* is Egyptian and was used to designate the governors of Egyptian domains, mainly of larger cities and nomes within Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, but also of the large forts in Nubia. Foreign chieftains, on the other hand, were designated *mr* ‘great’ and *ḥq3* ‘ruler’. The fact that the rulers of Byblos used specific title suggests therefore that they regarded Byblos as an Egyptian domain and saw themselves as its governors on behalf of the Egyptian king. This situation is substantiated by two sources of a different nature, a relief found at Byblos and a cylinder-seal of unknown provenance. The relief depicts the ‘Governor of Byblos Yantinu (*in-t-n*) who was begotten by Governor Yakin (*y3-k-n*)’ seated upon a throne in front of which is inscribed a cartouche with the prenomen and nomen of Neferhotep I. The cylinder-seal is inscribed for a certain Yakin-ilu in cuneiform on one side and the prenomen of king Sewesekhtawy on the other side. The fact to record the name of the Egyptian king within those specific context strongly suggests that they regarded themselves officially as subordinates of the Egyptian king. It is notable that it was the Egyptian king (13th dynasty) rather than the Canaanites kings (14th dynasty) who were recognized as the superiors at Byblos. However, Yantinu, whose name is evidently hypocoristic, is identical to a certain Yantin-‘Ammu recorded as ‘king of Byblos’ (*lugal gu-ub-lá^{ki}*) in an administrative document found at Mari. Cartouches were used by at least two of the governors, one of whom also used the royal epithet *mrj DN*, ‘beloved of DN’, and another governor adopted the epithet *ḥq3-ḥq3m*, ‘Rulers of rulers’. The use of cartouches reveals in no uncertain manner that while the men in question officially designated themselves as governors, they clearly regarded themselves as the actual rulers of Byblos. This may well explain why Yantin-‘Ammu was described as King of Byblos at Mari.

A prince of the land Iry²², which was most probably situated near Sidon (where the seal was found), had the throne name of king Amenemhet III translated into West Semitic *Ddq3-R* ‘“justice of Râ (Ṣaduqa-Râ)”’, bore the epithet “beloved of Baal (the name of the god is written with the logogram of Seth), lord of Iry (*nb i-3-y*)”. On stele at Serabit el-Khadim on Sinai, contingents of Near Easterners are listed among the personnel of mining expeditions that took place during the late 12th Dynasty. An Asiatic dignitary called “brother of the ruler of Retenu” participated at least four times. The “ruler of Retenu”



²¹ K.S.B. RYHOLT – The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1500 B.C. Copenhagen 1997, Ed. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications Vol. 20 pp. 86-89,123.

²² M. BIETAK – From Where Came the Hyksos and Where did they go? in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 147, 157.

most probably had his seat at Avaris or Tanis, and that it may have been from there that the expeditions were organised. In a tomb of Tell el Dab'a (Avaris), attached to a palatial mansion, has been found a scarab (opposite figure) of the late 12th Dynasty whose inscription names a "[ruler of R]etenu Akeb?".



Some scarabs and seals dating to the 13th Dynasty have been excavated from MB IIA tombs and occupation levels at many Canaanite sites, such as Acco, Tell el-'Ajjul, Ashkelon, Jericho, and Megiddo, which may indicate a high level of Egyptian-Canaanite contact and interaction. Evidence also points to increasing numbers of Asiatics within Egypt, a large numbers of whom seem to have been in domestic service (people well open to exploitation, in fact akin to slavery). In Brooklyn papyrus 35.1446²³, almost 2/3 of one household's staff (95 names) have Asiatic names, while other documents contain titles such as "officer in charge of Asiatic troops" and "scribe of the Asiatics". This document, dated from year 10 of Amenemhet III (1836-1791) to year 2 of Sobekhotep III (around -1700), is a record of the Bureau of labour²⁴. It shows that at this time there were many Asiatics who were working for Egyptian masters. The document further indicates that these Asiatic names were systematically changed into Egyptian names, which is consistent with the Egyptian custom of that time, as stated in the biblical text in the case of Joseph (Genesis 41:45). Most of these names are clearly West Semitic as Aquaba, Menahem, Asher, Shiphra (Exode 1:15), Hiabi-ilu, Sakar and [Ab]i-Baal, Baal-tuya²⁵. Several names also contain the form Aper(u) *pr(w)* which could be causing the designation of an ethnic group later known as Apiru²⁶ in the el-Amarna letters.

From the 12th dynasty these Asiatics (*Aamu*), who accounted for between 1/6 (at Abydos) and 1/3 (at Kahun) of the population of Egypt²⁷, will be considered Egyptians "of Asiatic origin" (Hyksos). They are conventionally represented as Egyptians (only their Asiatic origin is mentioned in the texts). Many of these Asiatics entered the country as prisoners of war, others were born in Egypt from Asiatic parent. They were employed in households, on agricultural estates and in service of temples. Their presence is evident in lists of household members and working crews on papyri, especially the ones of Kahun. A study of texts on funerary stele and other material of the time, shows that among 2600 people who appear on these objects, 800 were either themselves *Aamu* or had *Aam* relatives, or stood in some kind of — often job-related — connection with them. On a stele from Abydos, belonging to Amenyseneb, overseer of the monthly priesthood of a temple at Abydos, among 17 men and women whose figures are preserved, 3 are designated as *Aamu*: the brewer Iri, a female miller Senebit, and a man called Sobekiry. About 12% of workers portrayed in the tomb of Pahery, governor of El-Kab (to -1480), were Asiatic (through representation of their heads).

To sum it up, the arrival of Asiatics in Egypt, from the 12th dynasty, was the result of continuing immigration from Syria-Palestine, which is consistent with the biblical account (Genesis 41:41-45, 50-1; 46:5-7, 27). We therefore should not talk of an 'invasion'. It is in such a context that have described the Hyksos dynasties appeared.

²³ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts
Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 553-554.

²⁴ B. MENU – Le papyrus du Brooklyn Museum n° 35.1446 et l'immigration syro-palestinienne sous le Moyen Empire
in: *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012) pp. 19-30.

²⁵ G. POSENER – Les asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIIe et XIIIe dynasties
in: *Syria* 34:1-2 (1957) pp. 145-163.

²⁶ The tribe of Ephraim, as the largest group, represented all the Israelites (2Chronicles 25:7, Jeremiah 7:15). It is therefore possible that the Egyptian term Apiru, "those of Aper" in Egyptian, has been used to designate the Ephraimites. The text of Genesis 41:50-52 connects the name Ephraim (duel form) to *hiphrab* "made fruitful" and not to *epher* ('*aphar* means "dust"). The term *prw* ('Apiru) is rendered by *pru* in Ugaritic, *Ha-pi-rum* or *Ha-pi-ri* in some Akkadian proper names (HOCH pp. 61-63).

²⁷ D. ARNOLD – Image and Identity: Egypt's Eastern Neighbours, East Delta People and the Hyksos
in: *The Second Intermediate Period (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192, 2010)* pp. 183-221.

The Second Intermediate Period [S.I.P.] encompasses the 13th to the 17th Dynasties but this arrangement is primarily a product of the Manetho tradition. Nowhere does Manetho's reputation suffer more than in his coverage of the S.I.P., that amorphous historical stretch bridging the gap between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. Not only does his dynastic chronology stray wildly out of bounds for this period, but the three surviving versions of his history — in Josephus, Africanus and Eusebius — radically disagree with each other as to which kings and which political groups ruled which dynasties and how long each of the dynasties lasted (Josephus' version could be the more reliable). Manetho originally had a group of 32 Hyksos kings in Xoïs and 6 Hyksos kings who established their capital in the city of Avaris. They reigned 103 years according to Eusebius' version. And 37 Theban kings, perhaps identically, following the arrangement in the Turin Canon of Kings, which had 32 Hyksos kings preceding the 6 six Great Hyksos kings who reigned 108 years and 37 or 38 Theban kings following afterwards²⁸.

Despite numerous errors and their incomplete state, the existence of such lists shows that these royal dynasties were considered Egyptian. The ranking of dynasties is in chronological order, each dynasty being linked to a capital. Archaeological remains²⁹ have confirmed the Manetho's report, except for Xoïs (its name *ḫ3sw* is close to the word "foreigners" in Egyptian). The first capital of the Hyksos was Tanis. This is deduced from the presence of sphinxes and royal statues dated the Middle Kingdom (12th and 13th dynasties) found in the sanctuary of Amon, the latest relic of this period being the statue of Sobekhotep IV³⁰ (1686-1677). This is consistent with the biblical account which located the settlement of the Hebrews in the land of Goshen, also referred as the "field of Tanis" (Genesis 45:10; 47:11; Psalms 78:12, 43), called "meadow of Djau" in Egyptian³¹. The city of Tanis would have been founded by Amenemhat I³². According to the Bible, after arriving in Canaan at 75 years old (in 1963 BCE), Abraham would have changed the name of Kiriath-arba "city of four" into Hebron "joining" (Genesis 23:1) and then, 7 years later, would found the Egyptian city of Tanis (Numbers 13:22). The biblical version might be right, because the name of Tanis, *šo'an* in Hebrew (pronounced Tsoân), means "moving tents", whereas in Egyptian *da'an* (pronounced Djaân) means nothing.

The comparison of archaeological data with the Turin Canon list shows that the Hyksos dynasties should be in parallel³³:

Period	Length (Turin King-list)	Egyptian Dynasty		Asiatic Dynasty	
				(Capital)	King
1975-1778	213 years	12 th (Lisht/ [Memphis])	Vizier		
1778-1750?	[?]	13 th (Lisht/ [Memphis])	Vizier		
1750?-1680?			Vizier	14 th (Tanis)	Hyksos
1680?-1572?	108 years		-	15 th (Avaris)	Great Hyksos
1572?-1530	[?]	17 th (Thebes)	-	16 th (Edfu?)	Thebans
1530-1295		18 th (Thebes)	Vizier		

²⁸ G. GREENBERG – Manetho. A Study in Egyptian Chronology
Pennsylvania 2004 Marco Polo Monographs pp. 103-144.

²⁹ M. DESSOUDÉIX – Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 169-177.

³⁰ J. LECLANT – Tanis. L'or des pharaons
Paris 1987. Éd. Ministère des affaires étrangères pp. 183-187.

³¹ D. VALBELLE – Tanis
in: Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité sous la direction de Jean Leclant 2005 Éd. PUF p. 2123.

³² N. GRIMAL – Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 1988 Éd. Fayard p. 212.

³³ T. SCHNEIDER – Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit
in: Ägypten und Altes Testament 42, Wiesbaden 1998 Ed. Harrassowitz Verlag pp. 123-145.

P. VERNUS, J. YOYOTTE – Dictionnaire des pharaons
Paris 1998 Éd. Noësis pp. 63, 185-186.

Chronological reconstruction of the Second Intermediate Period is very uncertain, including the succession of kings³⁴, it is based on the following elements:

- The end of the 12th Dynasty (around 1778 BCE) corresponds to the beginning of the 13th Dynasty.
- The beginning of the 18th Dynasty (around 1530 BCE) corresponds to the end of the 17th Dynasty.
- The 15th dynasty of the Great Hyksos lasted about 108 years (Turin King-list). According to Herodotus, the Egyptians did not want to remember this period perceived by them as harmful and which had lasted 106 years (The Histories II:128).
- According to the "Stele of the year 400", found at Tanis, the 15th dynasty (Great Hyksos) would begin around 1680 BCE, 400 years prior Ramses II (1283-1216).

The Stele of the year 400, made under Ramses II, apparently refers to the Sethian dynasty of the Hyksos, 400 years earlier. The interpretation of this stele is controversial because it represents the vizier Sety (grandfather of Sety I, father of Ramses II), commemorating the event³⁵. The Stele seems to have been made by Ramses to support an honourable affiliation with an ancient dynasty, because the cult of Seth, likened to the Baal of the Hyksos, was not widespread among the Egyptians. In addition, the system of eras was unused. It is possible that Ramses had imitated the previous era under the auspices of Horemheb, a predecessor, because a trial in the year 18 of Ramses II is dated in the year 59 of Horemheb³⁶. Ramses seems to have connected his reign to his predecessor whose name Sethos I referred to the god Seth. The era of Ramses II would be a continuation of a prestigious past, which would place the establishment of the cult of Seth/Baal around 1680 BCE, if one counts from Ramses II's reign. In fact, Seth is completely absent from the titular of Ramses II and its worship appears³⁷ only after the Battle of Kadesh and from the construction of the temple of Abu Simbel started in year 5 of his reign (in 1279 BCE).

The chronological information on the Hyksos period are few, but they overlap quite well. The Egyptian priest Manetho, who wrote around 280 BCE, indicates that the Hyksos ruled Egypt from Pharaoh Toutimaïos (Doudimes?) and they were expelled by the Pharaoh Ahmose (1530-1505). Eusebius (Preparatio Evangelica IX:27:3-5) quotes Artapan's book entitled: The Jews (written around 200 BCE), explaining that the region above Memphis was divided into various kingdoms under Pharaoh [Sobekhotep IV] Chenephres (1685-1676). The information is accurate, because the royal activities during the 13th dynasty are attested until the end Sobekhotep IV's reign, the most prestigious king of this dynasty³⁸, further in the north of Thebes rather than Thebes itself (the capital of Egypt remains Lisht until the end of the dynasty). From this pharaoh, titles acquired a military bearing; they pertain to security and replace the character of administrative function of titles from the late Middle Kingdom. Similarly, the evolution of sculpture — relief and full relief — can follow an obvious loss of interest in quality. All these changes could be explained by the presence of Asiatic dynasties, especially the Hyksos dynasty.

³⁴ K.S.B. RYHOLT - The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period Copenhagen 1997 Ed. The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies pp. 184-201.

J. VON BECKERATH - Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten Mainz 1997 ed. Verlag Philipp von Zabern pp. 126-137.

T. SCHNEIDER - Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit in: *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 42, Wiesbaden 1998 Ed. Harrassowitz Verlag pp. 33-54,70.

³⁵ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 252-253.

³⁶ Mes's inscription (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 4 p. 3) describes a complaint declared during the year 18 of Ramses II, which is finally recorded and dated in the year 59 of Horemheb. The only plausible explanation for this anomaly is to assume that the reign of Horemheb was extended posthumously, year 28 being followed by years 1-2 of Ramses I, which became years 29-30 of Horemheb, then by years 1-11 of Sety I (years 31-41 of Horemheb) and finally by years 1-18 of Ramses II (years 42-59 of Horemheb).

³⁷ C. DESROCHES NOBLECOURT - Ramsès II La véritable histoire Paris 1996 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 185-189,370-372.

³⁸ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2 Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 123, 140, 159-160.

There is no consensus about the reconstruction of the 13th Dynasty. The only document available to restore it is the Turin King-list, despite its very incomplete state and numerous errors³⁹ (durations of missing reigns are supposed to be on average of 5 years = 118/24). Regarding the 17th Dynasty the agreement is slightly better⁴⁰, but the duration of reigns is far from certain (there is no more vizier between Se-hetepibre and Ahmose)⁴¹:

13 th Dynasty				Length	Reign
1	Wegaf	Khutawyre	1	2 years 3 months	1778-1776
2	Amenemhat V son of Senebef	Sekhemkare	2	4? years	1776-1770
3	(Ameny)-Qemau	Amenemhat		[5 years]	1770-1765
4	Sehetepibre I			[5 years]	1765-1760
5	Iufni	-	3	1? month	1760-1760
6	(Ameny-Antef)-Amenemhat VI	Seankhibre		[5 years]	1760-1755
7	Nebnun	Semenkare	4	1? month	1755-1755
8	Hornedjheritef	Se-hetepibre <i>son of Asiatics</i>		[5 years]	1755-1750
9	Sewadjkare	(14 th Dynasty)		[5 years]	1750-1745
10	Nedjemibre		5	7 months	1745-1744
11	Sobekhotep I	Khaankhre	6	3+ years	1744-1740
12	Renseneb	-	7	4 months	1740-1740
13	Hor I	Awibre		[5 years]	1740-1735
14	(Kaÿ)-Amenemhat VII	Sedjefakare	8	7 years	1735-1728
15	(Amenemhat)-Sobekhotep II	Sekhemre-Khutawy	9	6+ years	1728-1721
16	Khendjer	Weserkare	10	4+ years	1721-1716
17	Semenkhkare			[5 years]	1716-1711
18	Antef IV	Sehetepkare		[5 years]	1711-1706
19	Seth	[-]ibre	11	3+ years	1706-1702
20	Sobekhotep III	Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy	12	4 years 2 months	1702-1698
21	Neferhotep I	Khasekhemre	13	11 years 4? months	1698-1686
22	Sahathor	-	14	1+ month	1686-1686
23	Sobekhotep IV	Khaneferre (15 th Dynasty)	15	8+ years	1686-1677
24	Sobekhotep V	Merhetepre	16	4 years 8 months	1677-1672
25	Sobekhotep VI	Khahetepre	17	2 years 2 months	1672-1670
26	Ibia	Wahibre	20	10 years 8 months	1670-1659
27	Aÿ	Merneferre	18	23? years 8 months	1659-1635
28	Ani	Merhetepre	19	2 years 4? months	1635-1633
29	Sewadjtu	Seankhenre	21	3 years 2+ months	1633-1630
30	Neferhotep II Ined	Mersekhemre	22	3 years 1 month	1630-1627
31	Hori	Sewadjkare	23	5 years	1627-1622
32	Sobekhotep VII	Merkaure	24	2 years	1622-1620
33		total:		118 years	
50	??	(16 th Dynasty)		[3 years]	1576-1573
17 th Dynasty					
1	Rahotep	Sekhemra-wahkhau		[3 years?]	1573-1569
2	Sobekemsaf I	Sekhemra-Shedtawy		[2 years?]	1569-1567
3	Sobekemsaf II	Sekhemra-wadjkhau		[10 years?]	1567-1557
4	Antef VI	Sekhemra-wepmaat		[2 years?]	1557-1555
5	Antef VII	Nubkheperra		[10 years?]	1555-1545
6	Antef VIII	Sekhemra-Heruhermaat		-	1545-1545
7	Ahmose (Iahmes)	Senakhtenre		[1 year?]	1545-1544
8	Taa	Seqenenre		11 years	1544-1533
9	Kamose	Wadjkheperre		2 years 11 months	1533-1530
18 th Dynasty					
1	Ahmose	Nebpehtyre		25 years 4 months	1530-1505

³⁹ The last vizier was Iymeru, from Sobekhotep III to Sobekhotep IV, and the next vizier was Yuy, from Ahmose to Thutmose I.

⁴⁰ D. POLZ – New Archaeological Data from Dra' Abu el-Naga and their Historical Implications in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 343-352.

⁴¹ K.S.B. RYHOLT - The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period Copenhagen 1997 Ed. The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies pp. 203-204.

There is no consensus to precisely restore the chronology of the 15th Dynasty, with the exception of Apopi, its last Hyksos king, who is well attested and reigned about 4[1] years⁴² according to the Turin king-list. The Khyan sealings found at Edfu, in the same context together with those of Sobekhotep IV (1686-1677), attest a (non-violent !) contact between the Hyksos (15th Dynasty) and Upper Egypt⁴³ (13th Dynasty) at that time.

Manetho	No.	14 th Dynasty	(Turin King-list)	Capital	Length	Reign
?	1	[?]				1750? -
	6	Nehesy	Aasehre	Tanis	0 year [-]	
?	24	[?]			[1 year]	-1680
15 th Dynasty						
Salitis	1			Avaris	[12 years]	1680 -
Bnon	2	[Šamqenu?]			[12 years]	
	3	[‘Aper-‘Anati?]			[12 years]	
	4	[Sakir-Har?]			[12 years]	
Arpachan	5	[Khyan?]	[Suserunere]	Avaris	20? years	1632-1613
Apophis	6	[Apopi]	[Aauserre]	Avaris	4[1 years?]	1613-1573
	-	Khamudi	hotepibre		[1? year]	-
16 th Dynasty						
?	2	Djehuty	Sekhemresegmentawy	Edfu	3 years	1571-1568
?	5	Mentuhotepi	Sankhenre	Edfu	1 year [-]	1567-1566
?	15	[?]			[1 year]	-1530

Many kings not listed in the Turin King-list are difficult to classify among the five dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period (XIII to XVII), including those who are considered misclassified. King Aasehre Nehesy, for example, belonging to the 14th dynasty, is attested by several documents unearthed at Tanis, Tell el-Moqdam, Bubastis, Tell el-Daba (Avaris) and Tell el-Hebua (Tjaru) and King Mentuhopeti Seankhere, belonging to the 16th dynasty, is attested by two big sphinxes, unearthed at Edfu, and a fragmentary stele found at Karnak on which it is written: *[king] beloved by his army, his authority is strong; decisions which one lives (...) to submit all foreign countries (...) I am a king before Thebes, this my city, mistress of the whole country, the victorious city (...) more than any other city*⁴⁴. The sentence “submit all foreign countries” seems to refer the Asiatics residing in Egypt.

Very surprisingly, Hyksos pharaohs of the 15th dynasty were considered Egyptian since a manuscript⁴⁵, dated to the Third Intermediate Period, lists two of them in the following order: Shareq (3,6), Apopi (3,5), then Ahmose (3,4) and Amenhotep I (3,2). The role and the titulary of these pharaohs are very particular. Aldred⁴⁶, says in effect: *The feudal rulers, who had shared power with Pharaoh at the beginning of the 12th dynasty, had been replaced towards the end of it, by the mayors of various localities, whose main charge was collect taxes. At the Hyksos Period, these mayors were working under the direction of the great chancellors of Lower Egypt. Common use had strengthened this traditional system, and that is why it was adopted by Ahmose who made it supervised by a vizier (t3ty) of Lower Egypt and a vizier of Upper Egypt, each with their headquarters in the proper capital. In Nubia and in*



⁴² T. SCHNEIDER -Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit in: *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 42, Wiesbaden 1998 Ed. Harrassowitz Verlag pp. 57-75.

⁴³ N. MOELLER, G. MAROUARD -Discussion of late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period History and Chronology in: *Ägypten und Levante* XXI (Wien 2011) pp. 108-111.

⁴⁴ C. VANDERSLEYEN -L’Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2 Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 168-188.

⁴⁵ C. BARBOTIN -Ähmosis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie Paris 2008 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 58,59.

⁴⁶ C. ALDRED -Akhenaton Paris 1997 Éd. Seuil pp. 132-133.

*Kush, the administration born during the Second Intermediate Period was headed by a prince of Kush independent, who ruled with the help of officials apparently of Egyptian origin. This administration was headed by a bureaucratic government headed by a military leader who continued to be called "ruler (ḥq3)" before becoming "Ruler of Kush" and be appointed by the pharaoh as his viceroy (...) In fact the office of Pharaoh saw its nature turn with the rivalry that had developed between the Hyksos kings and princes of Thebes. Thus during the 17th Dynasty, there was, besides the pharaoh, a Ruler of Kush (ḥq3 n Ks)⁴⁷ in the south, a vassal king regarded as a viceroy of Egypt, and a Hyksos king in the north (Delta), considered a co-regent because of his royal titulary which appears sometimes on some scarabs or monuments. However, this criterion is not absolute because some powerful nomarchs at Abydos⁴⁸ also adopted this kind of titulary: first name (enthronement name) then family name (birth name) preceded by the words "son of Râ", both names being written in cartouches. The Hyksos kings were not vassal kings but co-regents because their names on scarabs or monuments are never preceded by the official title: *nsw bity* "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" (except Apopi) and they have no document dated with years of reign (except Apopi, year 33).*

The Hyksos kings, such as Egyptian governors, were appointed directly by the Pharaoh. After the restoration of the unity of Egypt by Mentuhotep II at the 11th Dynasty, first kings of the 12th dynasty reorganize a provincial administration similar to the one of the Old Kingdom. Despite the decentralization of the provincial administration, the Residence still occupies a prominent place in the appointment and training of nomarchs who often spend a part of their career in the Residence before being appointed in the provinces⁴⁹. During the Old Kingdom, a time when Abraham is supposed to have lived, kings of Egypt are regularly referred to 'Residence (*ḥnm*)' and sometimes by the word pharaoh (*per-âa*) meaning "Great domain"⁵⁰ (*pr-ʿ3*), because Egyptian government was confused with the place where the king resided. For example, when Sinuhe, an Egyptian official, arrived in Palestine, a ruler of Upper Retenu (*ḥq3 pw n Rṯnw ḥrt*) who welcomes him asked: *Is it something happened to the Residence?* (The Tale of Sinuhe §§ 54-58). The Hyksos kings acted as a representative of the pharaoh. The Egyptian title "representative (*idmw*)" is misleading because it might serve to designate any high representative, including the Pharaoh himself, as the viceroy of Kush⁵¹, which put him almost on a par with the pharaoh. Horemheb, for example, first ruled Egypt with the title of *idmw* "representative [of Pharaoh]" received from his predecessor (Tutankhamun), during the first 14 years of his reign⁵², before taking the conventional title 'King (*nsw bity*)'. The enthronement of Joseph in the Bible is a good example of this procedure: *And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Abrek [pay attention?]: and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnathpaaneah ["The god said: He will live"]; and he gave him to wife Asenath [ns-n.t "she belongs to Neith"] the daughter of Potipherah [p3-di-p3-r' "the one has given Ra"] priest of On (iwnw Heliopolis). And Joseph*

⁴⁷ S. KUBISCH – Biographies of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties

in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) p. 323.

⁴⁸ For example these three nomarchs: Wepwawtmsaf, Pentjeny and Senââib.

⁴⁹ É. MARTINET – Le Nomarque sous l'Ancien Régime

Paris 2011 Éd. Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne pp. 233-235.

⁵⁰ A. ROCCATI – La littérature historique sous l'ancien empire égyptien

in: LAPO 11 Paris 1982 Éd. Cerf pp. 134-135, 191-195, 309.

⁵¹ The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume 2, Part 1

Cambridge 1973 Ed. Cambridge University Press pp. 348-349.

⁵² W.J. MURNANE – Ancient Egyptian Coregencies

in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* Vol. 16 (1979) p. 189.

went out over all the land of Egypt (...) So Joseph went and told Pharaoh, 'My father and brothers have arrived from Canaan with their flocks and all they have come from the land of Canaan. Here they are, in the region of Goshen.' He had taken five of his brothers, and he now presented them to Pharaoh (...) Then Pharaoh said to Joseph: They may stay in the region of Goshen, and if you know of any capable men among them, you must appoint them chiefs of livestock over what is mine. Jacob and his sons went to Egypt where Joseph was (Genesis 41:41-45; 47:1-6). There is no trace of Joseph in Egyptian documents⁵³, but the investiture ceremony is consistent with Egyptian customs that describe the enthronement of a vizier, second person of State (opposite figure), robed in fine linen, receiving his gold collar and signet-seal of office⁵⁴.



The biblical account is consistent with linguistic, geography (the capital of Egypt was located north until early of 17th dynasty) and timescale, since the date of Joseph's enthronement (in 1758 BCE) is at the time of Pharaoh Amenemhat VI (1760?-1755?). It is known that Amenemhat V (1776?-1770?), a predecessor, ruled the north of Egypt, because a stele to his name has been found in the Nile Delta (in Athribis) and a successor, Hetepibre Hornedjheritef (1755-1750?), has his name preceded by his affiliation *sa aamu* "son of Asiatics (plural)". Also known is the pyramid of King Ameny *Aamu*. A baton of command bearing the name Hotepibre was found at Ebla (Syria). On the site of Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris), Bietak has uncovered⁵⁵ a vast palace whose existence was brief, a few years at most, and it has not even been completed. This building dates from the beginning of the 13th Dynasty. Various details — including the discovery of a cylinder seal "Ruler of Retenu" in a style typically Syrian, lack of foundation deposits, remains of animals' offerings in a circular pit — are foreign to Egyptian habits and make think from Asia to a Canaanite influence. This palace could be the 'summer residence' of the king of Egypt *son of aamu*, Hetepibre, whose statue was found 100 meters away⁵⁶. The pharaohs of the 13th dynasty ruled Lower Egypt so on until Pharaoh Sobekhotep IV (1686-1677), but eastern part of the Delta was under Asiatic influence. If the Pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty had brief reigns, their viziers exerted their function over periods apparently longer. However, only few viziers of the early 13th dynasty, until Sobekhotep IV, are known⁵⁷.

The very short duration of reign of the kings belonging to the 14th and 16th dynasties involves more a position of super nomarch than king. Only kings of the 15th Dynasty have comparable power to the kings of Egypt. The name of Egyptian nomes of Lower Egypt⁵⁸ confirm the existence of regions where Asiatics (Canaanites, Syrians, Israelites, etc.) were inhabiting. For example, the nome No. 8, capital Pithom (Tell el-Maskhuta) is called "Oriental harpoon" (*hmn i3btj*), the nome No. 13, capital Heliopolis (El-Matariyah), is called "Orient Prince of Levant" (*hq3 'ndw*) and the nome No. 14, capital Tjaru (Tell Hebua), is called "Orient" (*i3b.t*). Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a), Bubastis (Tell Basta) and Tanis (San el-Hagar) were in northern part of the nome No. 13.

⁵³ However, Hebrew names were often replaced by Egyptian names.

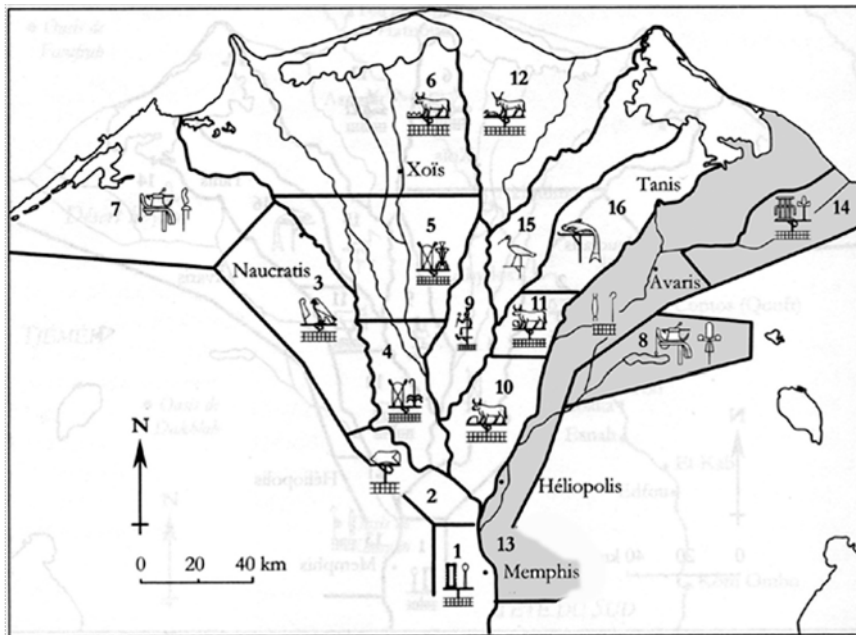
⁵⁴ K.A. KITCHEN — On the Reliability of the Old Testament Cambridge 2003 Ed. Eerdmans Publishing Company p. 640.

⁵⁵ Most of sealing impressions found in Avaris bear the name of King Khyan and one possible Apopi (I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER, M. BIETAK, M. LEHMANN, C. REALI -Report on the Excavations at Tell El-Daba'a 2011).

⁵⁶ C. VANDERSLEYEN — L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France p. 129.

⁵⁷ S. QUIRKE — Middle Kingdom Studies New Malden 1991 Ed. SIA Publishing pp. 123-139.

⁵⁸ M. DESSOUDÉIX — Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 755-775.



The remains of Hyksos kings in Egypt are low at least for two reasons: these foreign kings, having had only a limited power in Egypt (mainly in the Delta), have hardly constructed monuments, in addition, the departure of the Hyksos into Palestine having affected following pharaohs very badly all their works were either destroyed or severely mutilated as this statue (opposite figure) of a dignitary Hyksos, dated the beginning of the 14th dynasty, identified thanks to his hair and the cross on his shoulder⁵⁹. The Museum of Antiquities in Cairo also has a Middle Kingdom funerary mask⁶⁰ of the Hyksos period which identifying indicia are gone, however the outstanding representation of beard on a sarcophagus is a typically Semitic practice.



According to Manfred Bietak⁶¹, Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos (250 ha), was composed of at least 30,000 inhabitants, most of them being Asiatics. It appears that they collaborated harmoniously with the Egyptians. Archaeological excavations have also revealed their link with the south of Palestine⁶². Thus, the weapons found in the tombs of Tell el Dab'a (site of Avaris) have a Syro-Palestinian origin for 80% of them. Similarly, 74% of the pottery had been imported from Southern Palestine. The Hyksos did not mummify their dead, unlike the Egyptians, thus indicating a different conception of the afterlife. The information given by Josephus proved so reliable, again, the biblical details regarding the manufacture of bricks made of clay and straw, the frames of acacia, are indeed typical of Egypt, but unknown in Palestine. It has been found at Avaris the effigy of Imeni (looks like Amen "faithfull"), a Hyksos officer (recognizable by



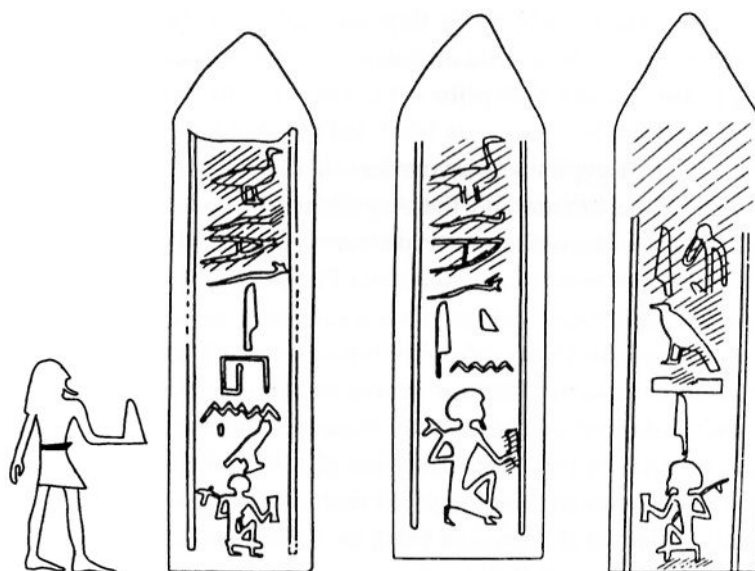
⁵⁹ BASOR 281 (1991) pp. 34,49,50.

⁶⁰ Referenced TR 7.9.33.1.

⁶¹ M. BIETAK – From Where Came the Hyksos and Where did they go? in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 148-149.

⁶² C. BOOTH - The Hyksos Period in Egypt Buckinghamshire 2005 Ed. Shire Publications pp. 1-53.

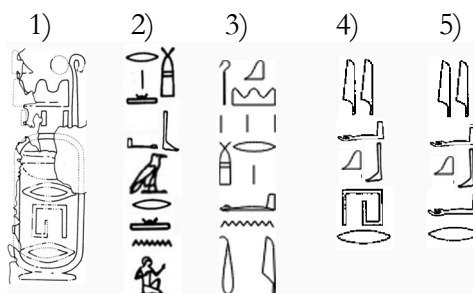
his beard), who seems proud to be Asiatic. On a small obelisk from Serabit el-Khadim we can see representations of Western Asiatic soldiers holding duckbill axes.



Geographical and chronological data⁶³ provided by biblical and Egyptian accounts: a people from Syria-Palestine arrived in Egypt around 1750 BCE and left home about 1530 BCE, so well overlap. The reports archaeological of Bietak show that Semites of Syria-Palestine reached Avaris from the 13th dynasty, then disappeared at the beginning of the 18th dynasty. Historical evidence of the Hyksos, despite some uncertainties and inconsistencies are therefore quite consistent⁶⁴.

What was the language of the Hyksos and what was their religion? Analysis of their names⁶⁵ allows answering these two questions. The native language of the Hyksos should be Old Canaanite and they (for most of them) should worship Baal and not Seth, its Egyptian counterpart, because no theophoric name refers to Seth. For example, several name include the term baal as Baal-Tuya or [Ab]i-baal. This is particularly evident among the names of the Hyksos rulers⁶⁶:

- 1) Hyksos Sakar-El / Sokar-her (*s-k-r-h-r*)
- 2) Aper-Baal (*ʾpr-b-ʿ3-r*)
- 3) Hyksos Aper-Anati (*ʾpr-ʿn-ti*)
- 4) Yaqub-El / Yaqub-her (*y-ʿq-b-h-r*)
- 5) Yaqub-Baal (*y-ʿq-b-ʿr*)



⁶³ W.G. DEVER/ J.M. WEINSTEIN - The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the Second Millenium B.C.E. in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 288 (1992) pp. 1-21; 27-38.

D. HENIGE - Comparative Chronology and the Ancient Near East in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 261 (1986) pp. 57-65.

⁶⁴ J. YOYOTTE - Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne Paris 1998 Éd. Hazan pp. 108,109.

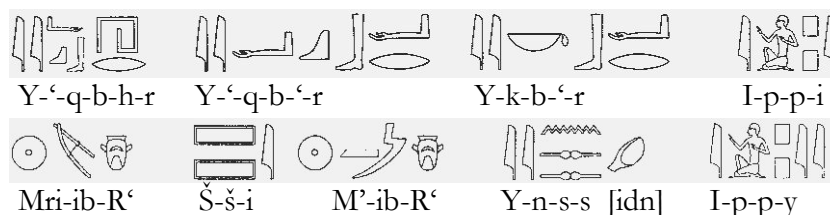
J. ASSMANN - Moïse l'Égyptien Paris 2001 Éd. Flammarion pp. 76-78.

D. REDFORD - The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition in: *Orientalia* 39 (1970) pp. 1-51.

⁶⁵ W.C. HAYES - A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum Brooklyn 1955 Ed. The Brooklyn Museum pp. 87-99.

⁶⁶ M. DESSOUDÉIX - Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 221-223.

Some Hyksos names transcribed into hieroglyphs are of Semitic origin (especially those beginning with y)⁶⁷, but others are Egyptian. It is often difficult to separate them because the phonetic transcription of these names is often approximate and fluctuating:



- Yaqub-Baal (y-‘q-b-‘r) is clearly of Canaanite origin because it has no meaning in Egyptian, but it means: "Supplanter [is the] Master" in Old Hebrew. According to the biblical text Jacob (1878-1731) lived in Egypt (Genesis 47:28), his son calling God "the powerful one of Jacob" (Genesis 49:24), he also spent 20 years (1801-1781) near Haran in Mesopotamia (Genesis 30:25; 31:41). It is interesting to notice that the name Ya‘qub-El, written in Akkadian Ya-aḥ-qu-ub-el, appears repeatedly in Lower Mesopotamia at the time of King Manana⁶⁸, a contemporary of Sumu-El (1799-1771), a king of Larsa⁶⁹.
- Yaqub-El / Yaqub-her (y-‘q-b-h-r but y-‘q-b-i-r in Thutmose III's list) is of Canaanite origin but its meaning is less clear: "Supplanter [is] God" in Old Hebrew or "Jacob [is] glad" in Egyptian. The first meaning seems more likely, because Baal was considered interchangeable with El. Similarly, vocalization Sakar-El "Wage [of] God" in Old Hebrew is more appropriate than Sokar-her "Sokar [is] glad" in Egyptian. Sakar name appears in Is-sakar "There is a wage [of God]", a son of Jacob (Genesis 30:18).
- Aper-Baal is the name of the Lord Chancellor on the jamb of a chapel door found at Tell Hebua⁷⁰ (dated to the Second Intermediate Period). The meaning can be understood either "offerings equipment [of] Anat" in Egyptian or "calf (Genesis 25:4) of Anat (Judges 3:31)" in Old Hebrew.
- Khyan (h-y-3-n) means nothing in Egyptian but "brotherly (*akhyan*)" in Old Hebrew, with an aphaeresis of the initial vowel (1Chronicles 7:19).
- Apopi (i-ṯ-p-p-i) is the name of the 15th Dynasty ruler *par excellence*. The fact that the name is usually written with the syllabic group i-ṯ would rather suggest that it was foreign in origin, just as all the other known names of kings and their treasurers of this Dynasty⁷¹. Apopi means nothing in Egyptian, but "splendid (*yepepia*)" in Old Hebrew (Jeremiah 46:20), close to the name Joppa (Joshua 19:46) meaning "beautiful". This name appears elsewhere in the Jerusalem Talmud (Nedarim 42c)⁷² which states that a vow made on behalf of Apopi (יפופי) of Israel is valid. Some Jewish amulets⁷³ written in Greek are dedicated to IAO YPEPI "Iao Apopi" or to IAO CABAO MOUCE "Iao Sabaoth Moses".
- Meribre Sheshi (Mri-ib-R‘ Š-š-i) is clearly Egyptian and means "Beloved [by the] heart [of] Ra; Refined gold?".

⁶⁷ J.E. HOCH – Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Princeton 1994 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 50-58.

⁶⁸ R. DE VAUX - Histoire ancienne d'Israël des origines à l'installation en Canaan Paris 1986 Éd. Gabalda pp.186,192.

⁶⁹ S.D. SIMMONS – Early Old Babylonian Texts in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 14 (1960) pp. 27,87,122.

⁷⁰ M. ABD EL-MAKSOUDE – Tell Heboua (1981-1991) Paris 1998 Éd. Recherche sur les Civilisations pp. 271-272.

J. YOYOTTE – En Égypte, le faux mystère des dynasties hyksos in: *Le monde de la Bible* n°146 (novembre 2002) pp. 42-43.

⁷¹ K.S.B. RYHOLT - The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period Copenhagen 1997 Ed. The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies p. 129.

⁷² J. BONSRIVEN – Textes rabbiniques des deux premiers siècles chrétiens Rome 1955 Éd. Pontificio Istituto Biblico p. 1376.

⁷³ E.R. GOODENOUGH – Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period New York 1953 Ed. Pantheon Books vol. 2 p. 220, vol. 3 n°1027, n°1135.

The link between Old Canaanite and Old Hebrew is badly known because of the low number of documents. In addition, some words believed to be recent, because of their apparent absence in ancient documents (several examples arisen)⁷⁴, existed in fact for many centuries, but had "hibernated"⁷⁵. Old Canaanite is very old as Unas' pyramid already contains, toward 2300 BCE, some sentences in this language written phonetically with hieroglyphs⁷⁶. The fact that Egyptians loaned Canaanite words proves that there were many Canaanite inhabitants in Egypt from a remotest antiquity. The word *migdol* (Exodus 14:2), for example, *magdalu* in old Canaanite (letter EA 234), has been borrowed by the Egyptians toward 1800 BCE⁷⁷. The word *manna* "what? (Exodus 16:15)" is different from Hebrew *mâ-bu* "what [is] it" some scholars have explained this discrepancy by a popular etymology based on the Syriac or late Aramaic. This erudite explanation is inaccurate because, in both languages, the word *manna* means "who" and not "what". The form of the interrogative pronouns in ancient Semitic languages⁷⁸, is:

Language	Who	What	attested between		Tower
Old Egyptian	m	m	-2500	-1500	m(i)-k-ti-l
Old Akkadian	man	min	-2500	-2000	
Assyro-Babylonian	mannu(m)	mînu(m)	-1900	-600	magdala
Amorite	manna	ma	-2500	-1500	
Ugaritic	my	mh, mn	-1500	-1100	mgdl
Old Canaanite (Old Hebrew)	miya	manna	-1800	-1100	magdalu
Phoenician	my	m	-1000	300	
Hebrew	mî[y]	mâ[n]	-1000	500	migdol
Aramaic	man	mâ	-900	200	
Syriac	man	mâ	0	200	

The word *manna* existed in Old Canaanite and meant "what", it is written *ma-an-na* (vocalization preserved by the Septuagint and the New Testament) in a letter dated around 1350 BCE found in El-Amarna (EA 286). Old Canaanite is a kind of Old Hebrew tinged with Akkadian⁷⁹ (Old Canaanite lexicon with a Babylonian grammar), which was used by scribes (Semites) in their correspondence with Canaan (Old Canaanite gave way to Hebrew after 1100 BCE). The word *hanikayw* "his men of elite" in Genesis 14:14 is another example proving high antiquity of Old Hebrew. This hapax, which the exact meaning was not yet known long ago, was discovered in some Egyptian execration texts dated 1900-1800 to qualify "men of elite" who belonged to Canaanite rulers. This rare word⁸⁰ appears then for the last time, in a text found at Taanach dated 1500-1400.

Old Canaanite (or Old Hebrew) as Semitic language could be written thanks to cuneiform or in hieroglyphs, but sounds' equivalence being imperfect in the first case and cursive writing, even in hieratic, being difficult in the second case, a new writing more adapted has been born at Serabit el-Khadim during the 15th Dynasty⁸¹. Several inscriptions

⁷⁴ A.R. MILLARD - The Tell Fekheriyeh Inscriptions

in: Biblical Archaeology Today 1990. Jerusalem 1993, Ed. Israel Exploration Society p. 523

A.R. MILLARD - A Lexical Illusion

in: *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31 (1986) pp. 1-3.

⁷⁵ For example, the rare and "recent" word *ketem* "gold" (Job 28:16,19), already existed in Akkadian (*ketîmu*) from the Sumerian KU-DIM which meant "goldsmith" (prior 2000 BCE).

⁷⁶ R.C. STEINER - Early Northwest Semitic Serpent Spells in the Pyramid Texts

in: *Harvard Semitic Studies* 61. Indiana 2011, pp. 77-84.

⁷⁷ J. SEGUIN - Le Migdol du Proche-Orient à l'Égypte

Paris 2007 Éd. Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne pp. 28-30,149.

⁷⁸ E. LIPINSKI - Semitic Languages Outline of a Comparative Grammar

in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 80. Leuven 2001 Ed. Peeters pp. 336,337,560,575.

⁷⁹ S. IZRE'EL - Canaano-Akkadian

Munich 2005 Ed. Licom Europa pp. 1-4.

⁸⁰ R. DE VAUX - Histoire ancienne d'Israël des origines à l'installation en Canaan

Paris 1986 Éd. Gabalda pp. 208-209.

⁸¹ A. LEMAIRE - Les «Hyksos» et les débuts de l'écriture alphabétique au Proche-Orient

in: Des signes pictographiques à l'alphabet (Karthala, 2000) pp.103-133.

in proto-Canaanite have been discovered in Egypt (Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai and Wadi el-Hôl⁸² north of Thebes) and in Palestine (Lachish, Gezer and Shechem). These inscriptions are difficult to date, between 1850 and 1500 BCE for Serabit el-Khadim and 1600-1500 for those in Palestine but the oldest epigraphs in paleo-Hebrew are dated around 1500 BCE⁸³.



The inscription contains an Egyptian hieroglyphic text: « Beloved by Hathor of [the mistress of] turquoise (*mry hthr [nbt] mfk3t*) », and two proto-Canaanite texts: « Beloved by the Mistress (*m'bb'l[t]*) » and « to the Mistress (*lb'lt*) ». The inscriptions from Palestine seem to have only proper names: Kaleb? (Lachish); Turanza? (Gezer).

Proper names are also a valuable source of information about the religion of people who bear them, because they contain the names of really worshiped deities. This shows that the Hyksos did only worshiped Canaanite gods, Baal being the main one. The term *baal* is not a proper name, but a Semitic word meaning "Master, Lord, Patron, Owner, Head [of family]." Baal was called in fact⁸⁴: Ada in Ebla, Addu in Mari, Hd in Ugarit, etc. (similarly, the Mesopotamian god ^dISKUR could be read either Adad or Addu, Tešub, etc., according to the country). This god of Canaan had in practice a local cult, as shown by the expressions: Baal [or Horus] of Zaphon "Master of the North", Baal of Peor "Master of Peor" (Exodus 14:2, Numbers 25:5), etc. Balaam invokes the god of the Israelites on "high places of Baal" (Numbers 22:41-23:12) and David refers to Jehovah as "Master of Breakings" (2Samuel 5:20). Only the worship of Baal was sentenced but the use of this term to refer to God as Master remained legitimate. Some Israelites had theophoric names in Baal as Bealyah "Master [is] Yah", Baalyada "Master knows", Baalhanan "Master has favoured" (1Chronicles 12:5, 14:7, 27:28), etc. However, after the fall of the kingdom of Samaria (in 720 BCE), using the term baal "Master" for God was banned: *You will call me my Husband, and you will no longer call me my Baal* (Hosea 2:16-18) to avoid idolatry (Judges 2:13). Copyists even changed the names of Baal in Israelite names, replacing *baal* by *boshet* "shame", as Jerubbaal into Jerubbeshet and Ishbaal into Ishboshet (1Samuel 12:11, 2Samuel 2:8, 11:21). The term *adon* "Lord" will remain lawful (Deuteronomy 10:17).

Egyptian religion was syncretic, thus it equated systematically Canaanite gods with Egyptian gods who resembled them. Representations of Seth and Baal are quite similar.

⁸² J. COLEMAN DARNELL, F.W. DOBBS-ALLSOPP, M.J. LUNDBERG, P. KYLE MCCARTER, B. ZUCKERMAN – Two Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from the Wadi el-Hôl in: *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 59 (2005), pp. 73-110.

⁸³ The name Ali-din-ili KU-UB-[-] written in cuneiform is also written in Paleo-Hebrew as 'LDN'L GB' on the edge of the tablet. S. DALLEY – Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schøyen Collection in: *Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology* Vol. 9 (CDL Press, 2009) pp. 1-4.

L. COLONNA D'ISTRIA – Babylonian Tablets from the First Sealand Dynasty in the Schøyen Collection in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* N°3 (2012) pp. 61-63.

⁸⁴ E. LIPINSKI – Baal

in: *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible* Éd. Brepols 1987 p. 172.

Several seals from Avaris⁸⁵ show Baal, a Syrian god of lightning, with a scepter and wearing a horned helmet with a braid. The two horns appear on the helmet of the "Baal of lightning" unearthed in Ugarit and dated around -1500 (Baal is presented as winner of the sea god Yam). Seth "Master of the Storm" was the Egyptian version of the Baal of Canaan, so there was a technical equivalence between two terms⁸⁶ but Hyksos people worshiped Baal⁸⁷, not Seth its Egyptian counterpart, because no Hyksos name refers to Seth.



Seth (Egypt)



Baal (Ugarit)



Baal/Seth (Avaris)

Ramses II employed the two terms interchangeably as shown in his poem⁸⁸ written after the Battle of Kadesh: *And the vile conquered Prince of Hatti sent a message to honour the name of my majesty, the equal of Ra, in these terms: You're Sutekh, Baal himself. The fear that you inspire is a flame in the country of Hatti.* In the treaty between Ramses II and Hattusil III one reads: *Seth, whose strength is great (...) see, Hattusil great prince of the Hittites, is party to a treaty to restore relations had established Ra, that Sutekh established for the land of Egypt and the land of Hatti (...) the lord of the sky god Ra, the god Reof the city of Arinna, Sutekh lord of heaven, Sutekh of the Hittites, Sutekh of the city of Arinna.* The treaty was sealed for "Seth, ruler of heaven." The character used to Seth was vocalized Baal (*b-ʿr*) in some Egyptian inscriptions⁸⁹:



Ramses III had four divisions of 5000 men including one named Seth and six charreries, one of which called Baálherkhopshef "Baal is on my sword"⁹⁰, which confirms the similar role of these deities. So when Seqenenre Taa criticized Apopi for exclusively worshipping Seth, he actually aimed Baal⁹¹.

⁸⁵ D. COLLON – New Seal Impressions from Tell El-Dab'a
in: *Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak Vol. II* (2006) pp. 97-101.

⁸⁶ N. ALLON - Seth is Baal — Evidence from the Egyptian Script
in: *Ägypten und Levante XVII* Wien 1997 pp. 15-22.

⁸⁷ Moses' mother was Jochebed (Exodus 6:20) whom name means "Jo[va] is glory".

⁸⁸ P. GRANDET – Les pharaons du Nouvel Empire : une pensée stratégique
Paris 2008 Éd. du Rocher pp. 322,343,344.

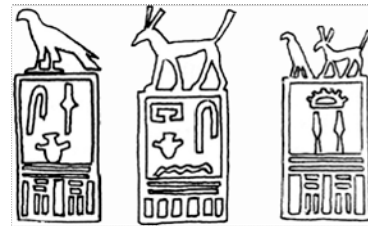
⁸⁹ R. GIVEON - Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens
Leiden 1971 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 51,118.

J.E. HOCH – Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period
Princeton 1994 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 93-95.

⁹⁰ P. GRANDET – Ramsès III histoire d'un règne
Paris 2009 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 166, 170.

⁹¹ Z. MAYANI – Les Hyksos et le monde de la Bible
Paris 1956 Éd. Payot pp. 122-128.

Seth was an ancient Egyptian god since first pharaohs (from Khasekhemwy the last king of the 2nd dynasty)⁹² put it (with Horus) above their *serekh*. This god was worshiped throughout Egypt's history, at least until the time of Sethy and Sethnakht who had it inside their birth names. So when Seqenenre Taa criticized Apopi to worship only Seth (actually Baal), he reproached him an uncompromising monotheism⁹³ and not a heresy. According to information from the Egyptian priest Manetho, as reported by Josephus, the Hyksos resided at Avaris, a city devoted to Typhon/Seth (Against Apion I:237-238). Typhoon is the Greek name of Seth, according to Diodorus (Historical Library I:21, I:88). The Egyptian term *netjer* (ntr) "god" does not refer to "God", like in the Bible, but only the "divine quality" characteristic of all Egyptian gods. This word was used as a title and did not designate a specific god, because no temple was dedicated to Netjer "god".



Despite the great influence of Seth in the political and religious life of the Ramessides, one knows very little figurations in full relief within official sculpture. The oldest representations⁹⁴ are those of a canid, sometimes with an ass's head (opposite figure)⁹⁵. The general appearance is that of a canid, but two elements are also characteristic of the donkey: the two elongated ears and the tuft of hair at the end of a long tail (elements of the animal frequently represented).

As storm god, Seth had a destructive aspect, for example one reads in the Book of Dead⁹⁶: *I'm Seth, disturbance agent and a hurricane in the horizon of heaven, as Nebedj [Demon of darkness]*. In time that ambivalent aspect (protector / destroyer) will increase. Several medical papyri from the beginning of the 18th dynasty suggest to invoke the god Seth who stopped the Mediterranean Sea before Avaris to treat certain diseases: *Conjuration of Canaanite disease: who is knowing as Ra? who knows as much as this god - while the body is blacked (as) with charcoal - to seize the God on high. So as Seth conjured sea, Seth conjure thee well, O Canaan disease (...) all evil in you will be expelled (...) like the sea by listening to the voice of Seth (...) Other conjuration. Seth's rage is directed against the disease 'akhu! Seth's fury is directed against you! The rage of the storm, when it is hungry for water from the sky, is directed against you! Then he will end the violence, having [put] his arms on you. Then shalt thou let endure what the sea has endured through his hand.* The "destructive rage of the sea (as storm?)" was explained by "the rage of Seth"⁹⁷. The downside of Seth appears more clearly in an Egyptian papyrus dated to 1200 BCE: *It's like Seth, the furious, the reptile, the snake whose bad venom, in its mouth, is flame (...) as what it had committed against Osiris when he (Seth) made it immersed in the waters of misfortune.*



⁹² J. VERCOUTER – L’Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 1
Paris 1992 Éd. Presses universitaires de France pp. 205-233.

⁹³ O. GOLDWASSER – King Apophis and the Emergence of Monotheism
in: *Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* Vol. I (2006) pp. 129-133, 331-354.

⁹⁴ H. TE VELDE – Seth, God of Confusion
1967 Leiden Ed. Brill pp. 7-12.

⁹⁵ S. DONADONI – Per la morfologia dio Seth
in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 57, 1981 pp. 115,122.

⁹⁶ P. BARGUET – Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens XXXIX
Paris 1967 Éd. du Cerf pp. 7,82.

⁹⁷ P. COLLOMBERT, L. COULON – Les dieux contre la mer
in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 100 (2000) p.207.

Although the Hyksos had particular religious beliefs⁹⁸, most worshiped Baal, and spoke a different language (Old Canaanite), they were wholly considered Egyptians. The recording of Hyksos dynasties in Egyptian annals proves it (whereas the name of several Egyptian kings, considered later as illegitimate, were hammered). No incidents or animosity toward Egyptian authorities are reported before the so-called "Hyksos' war".

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE 'HYKSOS' WAR

The only major incident during the period before the "Hyksos' war" is recorded in a decree of Antef VII⁹⁹, a predecessor of Seqenenre, the *in absentia* impeachment of Teti, viceroy of Kush, who had fomented a rebellion¹⁰⁰: *Year 3, III Peret 25, under the Majesty, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkheperre son of Ra, Antef [VII] (...) that one ignores now his name in the temple (...) rebel and enemy of God, his writings have to be destroyed (...) any king or powerful governor who will be merciful to him will not be able to receive the white crown [Upper Egypt] anymore, he will not bear the Red Crown [Lower Egypt], he will not sit on the throne of Horus [Egypt] of living beings, the two Mistresses will not be favorable to him.* These remarks illustrate the political situation at the time: kings of the 17th Dynasty had authority over Egypt but they had delegated a part of Upper Egypt to vassal Kings of Kush and a part of Lower Egypt to Kings of foreign Lands, the Theban kings of the 16th dynasty, as Montuhotepi who wrote: *one in whose governance people (can) live, one who functions as king [...] of victorious Thebes! I am a king native of Thebes, this city of mine, mistress of the entire land, city of triumph*¹⁰¹. Relationships between Egyptian and Hyksos kings were peaceful, as evidenced by the fact that stones of Senakhtenra's monument in Thebes come from Tura, near Memphis, which proves that the Egyptian kingdoms (16th and 17th Dynasties) maintained trade and peaceful relations, reversing a so-called rivalry¹⁰².

Egyptian stories written before and after Apopi are contradictory since before this king no tension can be reported, but the Hyksos suddenly become a calamity for Egyptians after their departure from Egypt¹⁰³. The earlier Egyptian documents show that, contrary to the descriptions of later Egyptian sources, the Hyksos were builders, even encouraging the spread of Egyptian literature and intellectual life of Egypt¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, paradoxically, no Pharaoh made this "war against the Hyksos" engraved on the rock, as was the case for the Battle of Kadesh, which was nevertheless crucial in Egyptian history. Reconstruction:

King of Kush (Kerma)	17 th Dynasty (Thebes)		16 th Dynasty (Edfu)
Teti	1555-1545	Antef VII	[?]
"	1545-1545	Antef VIII	[?]
"	1545-1544	Senakhtenre	[?]
"	1544-1533	Seqenenre	[?]
"	1533-1530	Kamose	[?]
18 th Dynasty (Thebes)			
[?]	1530-1505	Ahmose	

⁹⁸ B. ANDRE-LEICKMAN - Naissance de l'écriture, cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes
Paris 1995 Éd. Réunion des musées nationaux p. 302.

⁹⁹ C. LALOUETTE – Thèbes ou la naissance d'un empire
Paris 1986 Éd. Fayard pp. 108-110.

¹⁰⁰ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 187-188.

¹⁰¹ D.B. REDFORD – Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period
in: The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives. Philadelphia 1997 pp. 5, 12.

¹⁰² S. BISTON-MOULIN – Le roi Sénakht-en-Ré Ahmès de la XVII^e dynastie
in: *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012) pp. 61-71.

¹⁰³ P.A. CLAYTON - Chronique des Pharaons
Paris 2000 Éd. Castelman pp. 90-97.

¹⁰⁴ N. GRIMAL - Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 1988 Éd. Fayard p. 246

J. VERCOUTTER - Les Hyksos
in: Encyclopédia Universalis (1994) pp. 820-821.

The reconstruction of this time period shows that it all happened during the reign of Kamose. Two paradoxes appear: 1) Kamose who is nevertheless the key element into the “Egypt liberation” is not placed at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, and in his lengthy biography the soldier Ahmose son of Abana detailing his service, since Seqenenre until Thutmose I, ignored Kamose, its main hero; 2) Some Egyptologists describe, by conjecture, a violent war with the Hyksos, but the remains of Avaris show no trace of conflagration and destruction, but rather a gradual abandonment of the city¹⁰⁵. Mystery is over. What has really happened and why Egyptians have always refused to identify the culprit of their disaster, as Herodotus noticed (The Histories II:128)?

The first document about the “war of the Hyksos” is an account between pharaoh Apopi and pharaoh Seqenenre giving the reasons for the conflict (parts in square brackets have been reconstituted according to the context)¹⁰⁶:

It was the land of Egypt was in trouble because there was no lord, life-integrity-health, as king of the (entire) region. It was then, king Seqenenre, life-integrity-health, was ruler of the Southern City (Thebes) and was the misfortune of Asiatics in the city for the prince Apopi, life-integrity-health, was installed in Avaris. He had put the entire country in his service, the North (Delta) also providing (him) all kinds of good products from the Northern Land. Now king Apopi, life-integrity-health, made Sutekh (Baal) his lord, he did not serve any god of the whole country except Sutekh. He built (him) a temple in perfect work for eternity next to the palace King Apopi, life-integrity-health, he appeared [...] days to present [his offering] to Sutekh daily while dignitaries [...] wore linen cloths used in accordance with the temple of Re-Harakhti in front of it. Now therefore king Apopi, life-integrity-health, would send a letter of challenge (to) king Seqenenre, [life-integrity-health,] Prince of the Southern City. After many days had elapsed after this, king [Apopi, life-integrity-health] did call [...] write [...] and dignitaries [said: « O] sovereign, life-integrity-health, our Lord [grant that Seqenenre chasing after] some hippos out the lake [that lie to the east of the City, considering] that they don't leave [coming to us the sleep neither day nor] night [their din fills the ears of our city ...] So the Prince of the Southern City [...] is with him (Seqenenre) as a protector, he bows to no god [in entire country] except Amun-Ra-king-of-gods. After many days had elapsed after this, the king Apopi, life-integrity-health, sent to the Prince of the Southern City the letter of challenge than he had called his scribes scholars. The messenger of king Apopi, life-integrity-health, came to the Prince of the Southern City. So he was taken in the presence of the Prince of the Southern City and one (the Prince) said to the messenger of King Apopi, life-integrity-health: « Why have you sent to the Southern City? Why hast thou done this trip? ». Then the messenger told him (to Seqenenre): « It is king Apopi, life-integrity-health, that sends me to you to tell you: “do make chasing out of the lake hippos that are to the east of the city considering they do not let me get to sleep either by day or night, their uproar fills the ears of the city” ». So the Prince of the Southern City burst into tears, in great despair, for he was (not) in a state of knowing how to respond to the messenger of King Apopi, life-integrity-health. So the Prince of the Southern City said: « Is it that thy lord, life-integrity, health, hear the noise [of hippos] in the east of the Southern City over there (in Avaris, 900 km north)? ». So [the messenger precised?] the terms (of the challenge) on which he (Apopi) had written. [The prince of the Southern City made sure] that were taken care of [the messenger of king Apopi, life-integrity-health, through all kinds] of good things, meats, cakes [... Then the Prince of the Southern City] said: [« So I will do that. Go back where you came,] and all that thou shalt say to him (to Apopi), I will. So will you tell him ». [... Then messenger of king] Apopi, life-integrity-health, was transported on a journey to the place, where his lord, life-integrity-health. Then the Prince of the Southern City convoked his great dignitaries, and all the soldiers and generals before him, and repeated all the terms of challenge on which king Apopi, life-integrity-health, wrote to him. And then they all remained silent, in great distress, without knowing answer for good or evil. Then King Apopi, life-integrity-health, wrote to [...] (End of document lost).

¹⁰⁵ M. BIETAK – Avaris

in: Dossiers d'Archéologie n°213 mai 1996 pp. 16-23.

¹⁰⁶ C. BARBOTIN – Ahmôsis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie
Paris 2008 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 231-235.

As one can see, there are many anomalies, to say nothing of weirdness: 1) How does it happen that Seqenenre, the penultimate king of the 17th dynasty, discusses with Apopi, the last king of the 15th dynasty, while we should have a Theban king from the end of the 16th dynasty? Why a pharaoh is shocked that another Pharaoh do worship only one god¹⁰⁷? What contained so serious the letters of challenge from pharaoh Apopi that they could burst into tears, in great despair, pharaoh Seqenenre?

The Challenge "the hippos from the Southern City [Thebes] make noise" (which is absurd, Avaris is approximately 900 kilometres from Thebes) was actually a harbinger of death against Pharaoh because, according to Egyptian mythology, Menes, the first king of Egypt was killed by a hippopotamus. In addition, each year and to ritual manner pharaoh put to death an hippopotamus (an incarnation of Seth) to commemorate the triumphant struggle of Horus against Seth. So this sinister omen could explain the reaction of Seqenenre Taa who bursts into tears, in despair, and why his great dignitaries all remain silent. No Egyptian source has not described sequence of events, but the state of the mummy of Seqenenre, especially his head indicating serious injury (opposite picture), is eloquent, this pharaoh died (aged 30 to 40 years) in a very violent manner and it took quite a long time before his mummification¹⁰⁸. Although this event was exceptional the Egyptians are absolutely silent about this death, but it is not the case of Egyptologists who explain that Seqenenre was probably slaughtered by at least two Hyksos soldiers. This explanation is ridiculous because the Egyptians would have left decompose the corpse of the pharaoh before its mummifying, what would have been blasphemy. Moreover, as the ribs and vertebrae are fractured and dislocated, Seqenenre had to be attacked by two Terminators!



Not only the brutal death of Seqenenre is inexplicable, but his eldest son, the Crown Prince, also died shortly before in dramatic circumstances: *Seqenenre had an heir, Prince Iahmes. Las! He died six years old and his father followed closely (...) Very quickly his cult was formed [and will last until the beginning of the 21st dynasty] and he is the first of the "big family" Royal from the late 17th and early 18th Dynasty to have been the object of worship, before Amenhotep I and Iahmes Nefertari (...) inscriptions of the statue reveal that this prince was the eldest son of Seqenenre Djebuty-Aa (...) The statue is exceptional in many respects. This is a large statue of 1.035 m high, which is remarkable at a time when there is almost no statue! It shows a family grief, the prince is evidently died prematurely as it is regretted by his mother and two sisters, and his father the king. It is unique in the history of Pharaonic Egypt that a king declares his paternity and speaks directly to his son, using second person¹⁰⁹. The reasons for this cult that lasted nearly half a millennium remain mysterious. The examination of the mummy of Iahmes Sapaïr indicates that this prince measured 1.17 m¹¹⁰ which evaluates to 6/7 years the age of his son. Despite his young age, Ahmose*



¹⁰⁷ O. GOLDWASSER – King Apophis and the Emergence of Monotheism
in: Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak Vol. I (2006) pp. 129-133, 331-354.

¹⁰⁸ A.-P. LECA – Les momies
Paris 1976 Éd. Librairie Hachette pp. 147-148.

¹⁰⁹ C. VANDERSLEYEN - Iahmès Sapaïr
Paris 2006 Éd. Safran pp.14-20,27.

¹¹⁰ The enthronement name: Sapaïr (*s3 p3 ir*) "son of the one who acted", was attached shortly after the death of Seqenenre. Furthermore, the mummy of the prince measuring 1.17 m and his statue with a size of 1.035 m, it had to be done about 1 year before his death.

Sapaïr was circumcised¹¹¹ to indicate that it was pure in gods' eyes which was exceptional, because circumcision was usually performed at puberty¹¹².

On the stela of year 3 of Kamose¹¹³ appears the first detailed report of the "taking of Avaris", inaccurate term because there is no fighting, the city being only looted. This inscription looks more like a report written shortly after the events rather than a declaration of victory, traditionally laudatory. Important point of this inscription: Kamose's retaliation were not caused by an attack of the Hyksos since his counsellors remind him¹¹⁴: *we are at peace with our Egypt*. The entry is highlighted the following points¹¹⁵:

^{A1/116}Year 3 of the Horus appearing on his throne, the Two Ladies of renewing the memorials, the golden hawk which pacifies the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (nsw-bity) Wadjkeheperre [son of Ra Ka]mose, endowed with life, beloved of Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands like Ra, forever nights and days. ^{A2/}The victorious king (nsw) in the nome of Thebes, Kamose endowed with life for eternity of nights, is a king (nsw) efficient: it is Ra himself [who made him] King (nsw), who sent him victory in truth! His Majesty said in his palace in the board of his dignitaries ^{A3/}who were following him: « How do I should recognize, my victory, with a prince (wr) in Avaris and another in Kush, I who have been enthroned in company with an Asiatic ('3m) and a Nubian (nh3y)? Each has his part in this Egypt. The country has been shared with me, and ^{A4/}there is no one who goes beyond (his share) up to Memphis, the canal of Egypt: see then he holds Hermopolis! One can't stop without being squeezed by easements (taxes) of Asiatics. I'll confront him, I'll disembowel him, I desire to get hold (whole) of Egypt and destroy ^{A5/}the Asiatics! ». The dignitaries of is council said: « As far as Cusae is the allegiance of Asiatics. Flaps on their chatter, for we are at peace with our Egypt! Elephantine is impregnable, ^{A6/}and the center (of the country) belongs to us as far as Cusae. Plowing for us the best in their fields, our cattle graze in the marshes (Delta), the grain is shipped (for fattening) our pigs, our cattle are not stolen, no crocodile ^{A7/}[...] because of this, he (the Hyksos king) holds Asiatic country and we hold Egypt. If coming (the one that would work against) and we would act against him ». They affected the heart of His Majesty « with regard to your will ^{A8/}[...] right, I should not acknowledge the one that shares the country with me, those Asiatics who [...] ^{A9/}I sail northward to complete the annihilation of Asiatics and success will result. If [...] his eyes] in tears, the whole country [...] ^{A10/}the ruler (hq3) in the nome of Thebes, Kamose who protects Egypt. So I sailed northward through my courage to chase the Asiatics, and by order of Amon who attests to the will, my valiant army ^{A11/}before me like the heat of a flame. The Medjay's troupe which is east of our watch will flush out the Asiatics and destroy their settlements, east and west providing them the grease ^{A12/}while the army eats food, anywhere. I sent the victorious troop of Medjajys, I was so busy with [...] to the encirclement of the [rebel] ^{A13/}Teti, son of Pepi, within Nefrusy [near Hermopolis]. I will not allow him to escape when I should expel the Asiatics who oppose Egypt in order for him to do Nefrousi a nest of Asiatics! It's on my ship, the heart happy, I spent the night ^{A14/}. At dawn, I found myself on board, similar to the status of a hawk, and after lunch, I devastated, having demolished its walls, killing its people and bringing down his wife (of the rebel Teti) ^{A15/}to shore, my army like the state of lions, in charge of his booty, crumbling of slaves, cattle, fat and honey, busy with the division of his property, his heart swelling (of joy). District Nefrusy ^{A16/}is in a state of surrender, we will not totally lock up the (?), Per-shaq goes away when I approach him, his carriages have fled inside. Patrols of the army [...], ^{A17/}those who remember in the valley, their goods, it [...]

¹¹¹ G. ELLIOT SMITH – Catalogue Général Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: The Royal Mummies. Vol. 59 Le Caire 1912 Éd. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale pp. 1-6, 25.

¹¹² This child would be born around 1540 BCE, which was an exceptional coincidence for the Egyptians because every 243 years the heliacal risings of Sirius and Venus coincided. This exceptional event marked a new era called the Great year by Greek authors (and described as the rebirth of the Phoenix), and it occurred exactly on 12 July 1543 BCE at Thebes and during a full moon (G.W. VAN OOSTERHOUT – Sirius, Venus and the Egyptian Calendar in: *Discussions in Egyptology* 27, 1993, pp. 83-96). The Horus name of Seqenenre was "the one (Sirius) appeared in Thebes". The Crown Prince Ahmose (Iahmes) Sapaïr therefore symbolized the emergence of a new era for the Egyptians (in fact, the 18th Dynasty will begin with Ahmose, the younger brother of Ahmose Sapaïr).

¹¹³ L. HABACHI – The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital Glückstadt 1972 Éd. Verlag J.J. Augustin pp.31-67.

¹¹⁴ C. LALOUETTE – Thèbes ou la naissance d'un Empire Paris 1986 Éd. Arthème Fayard pp. 117, 591 note 51.

¹¹⁵ M. DESSOUEIX – Lettres égyptiennes. La naissance du Nouvel Empire de Kamosis à Thoutmosis II Paris 2010 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 12-60.

¹¹⁶ A1 means "line 1 of the first stela of year 3 of Kamose" and B1 means "line 1 of the second stela of year 3 of Kamose".

[-----]

^{B1/} terrible news in your city: you are turned back on the side of your army! You are insolent when you make me a worthy (sr), while you're a ruler (hq3), until I'll ask ^{B2/} for you this illegitimate good because of which you fall! Look at the disaster behind you! My army close behind you, women of Avaris will not give birth anymore because it is no longer (a man) who opens their heart ^{B3/} in their belly when the clamour of my army is heard. I am moored in front of the citadel, and the brave (of my army) said: « My heart is swollen (of joy), I'll show ^{B4/} Apopi time of the weakness, be the prince (sr) of Retenu to weak arms, who devises in his heart heroic acts without occurring in his favour ». I came to Inyt-^{B5/} of-the-upstream (in Avaris), I crossed the river toward them (my soldiers) to the harangue: « Steer me to ensure the fleet that (each ship) is disposed one behind the other, I want to put them bow to stern, with the ^{B6} best of my brave going to fly over the river, how would do a hawk, my ship gold-headed ahead. (It) is like their falcon-headed. ^{B7} I want to place this warship in the limits of the desert, the fleet behind him as it (?) ravaging the land ^{B8} of Avaris. I watched its women (of Avaris) at the top of his castle watching from their windows to port. There is no (man) who opens their bellies when ^{B9} they see me, while watching through its loopholes in their walls, like little mice to the bottom of their holes, saying: « How he goes fast ». ^{B10} Here I am to triumph, what is left (of the country) is in my hand, my action is effective! By victorious Amon, I do not spare you, I will not let you cross a field ^{B11} without finding myself in front of you! So your heart fails, moron Asiantic! Look, I drink wine of your vineyard, ^{B12} the one that press for me the Asiatics I capture, I ransacked your place of residence, I cut your trees after having put your wives in (my) slipway ^{B13} and I took possession of carriages. I have not left a board from the 300 ships (made) of fresh pine which were full of gold, lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise, ^{B14} bronze axes without number, excluding oil moringa, incense, honey, wood-ituren, wood-sesenedjem, wood-sepen, all precious woods ^{B15} and all beautiful imports from Retenu. I have taken everything, I have nothing left, Avaris is doomed to penury, the Asiatic perished. ^{B16} So your heart fails, moron Asiatic who said: « I am the Lord (nb), unrivalled as far as Hermopolis, as far as Pi-Hathor on the (?) and as far as Avaris ^{B17} between the two rivers ». I left it in the destruction, without inhabitants, having sacked their cities. I burned that their settlements which were reduced to mounds redden (by fire), ^{B18} for the eternity of nights, because the damage they had done inside Egypt. Those who allowed themselves to listen the call of Asiatics, they have abandoned Egypt, their mistress. ^{B19} I captured his messenger (of Apopi) east of the oasis (in Bahariyah) as he went back south to Kush with a written message. I found there the written retranscription of the words from the ruler (hq3) of Avaris: ^{B20} « Aauserre, the son of Ra, Apopi, send greetings to (my) son, Ruler (hq3) of Kush. Why did you set up as ruler (hq3) without letting me know? ^{B21} Did you see what Egypt has done against me? The ruler (hq3) therein, Kamose endowed with life, driving me out of my land as I have not attacked, in a manner identical to what he had done ^{B22} against you. He wants to tear the two countries to destroy my country and yours, after having ransacked. Come, come down the Nile, did not hesitate. ^{B23} Look, he's here with me, there is someone who opposes you in (this part of) Egypt. Look, I do not let him free rein until you came here. So we will share ^{B24} those cities of (this part of) Egypt and Khenthennefer will rejoice! ». Wadjkeheperre (Kamose) endowed with life that drives away evil. ^{B25} I placed the deserts and uphill of the country under my authority, and rivers as well, one can not find a way to assault me. I can not be careless about my army (because one) had not yet prevailed ^{B26} on the northern (Apopi). That's when I went to the north that he was afraid of me, before we fought, before I've never met him. When he saw my flame, he wrote to Kush (a letter) ^{B27} requesting his protection. I intercepted him (the messenger) in the desert, so I do not permit that he arrive. So I made him take in order to send him back. It (the letter) was left ^{B28} toward Atfih. My triumph has penetrated his heart, his members were dashed when his messenger told him what I had done against the District of Cynopolis which was part ^{B29} of his possessions. I sent my powerful troop which goes by land to devastate the oasis of Bahariyah. ^{B30} while I was at Saka to prevent a rebel behind me. So it is a brave heart and a happy heart that I sailed southward, destroying any rebel who was on the road. What a perfect trip toward the south it was for the ruler (hq3), ^{B31} life, integrity, health, with his army in front of him (Kamose)! There was no loss, no one inquired for his friend, no one cried. This is at time of the season ^{B32} Akhet that I arrived with hastily on the floor of the City (Thebes). Each face was bright, the country was in opulence, the port was in jubilation, the Theban nome was celebrating. Women and men were constantly coming ^{B33} to see me. Every

woman pressed again and again, his fellow in his arms. No face was in tears. The incense was (placed) to the brave inside the Nekhen chapel where one says: ^{B34}« Get what's good! » as when it gives strength to the son of Amon, life, integrity, health, sustainable King (nsw) 'Wadjkheperra', son of Ra 'Kamose the victorious one', given life, ^{B35}that defeated the South and who drove out the North, who seized the country by force, given life, stability and power, his joy being with his ka, like Ra for ever and ever. ^{B36}His Majesty has ordered the Director, Governor, Superior of the secrets of the royal domain, higher in-Chief of the entire domain, Chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt (bity), instructor of the two lands in front, Governor, Directors of Friends, ^{B37}Director of sealed things, Wesernesha: « Make sure you write all that My Majesty made thanks to the strength of a stele. Its place will be located in Karnak in ^{B38}the Theban nome forever and ever ». And he (Wesernesha) said to his Majesty: « It is in relation to the favor of the royal presence I do any mission ». The director of the seal Nesbi.

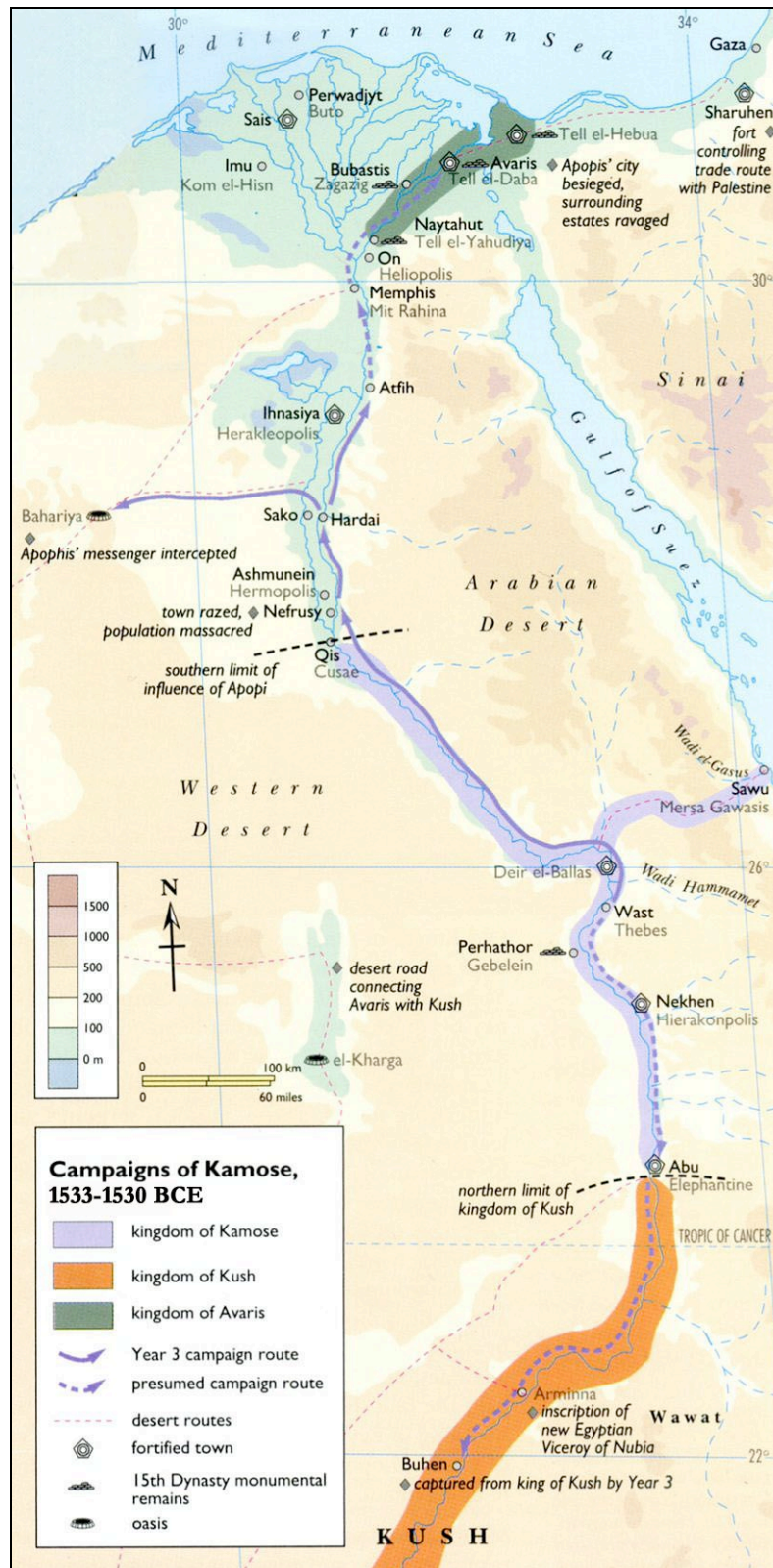
As one can see, there are several anomalies¹¹⁷: 1) At the beginning of the inscription "year 3 (*renpet 3*)" is the number of years and not regnal years "year 3 (*bat-sep 3*)"; 2) Pharaoh's name should have appeared at the beginning (as in Pharaoh Apopi's letter in line B20) instead of the god Horus, who merely represents the pharaoh; 3) according to the chronological description of Kamose's military campaign, Apopi had, at the beginning of hostilities, a full title of pharaoh (line B20) with a power superior to the viceroy of Kush since he called the latter "my son"¹¹⁸ (kings of same power wrote to each other using the expression "my brother") while Kamose is referred as "worthy" by Apopi (line B1). During the drafting of the stele by Wesernesha, who was Chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, Kamose is only king of Upper Egypt (lines B34-38) and ruler of Thebes. Kamose's titulary has evolved rapidly: Worthy, Ruler of Thebes, King of Lower Egypt and finally King of Upper and Lower Egypt. Apopi's titulary, on the contrary, decreased rapidly: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of Avaris and finally Prince of Retenu.

The stele provides essential information to rebuild the military campaigns of Kamose in chronological order: 1) Kamose complained for being squeezed by easements (taxes) of Asiatics. 2) He desired to get hold (whole of) Egypt and destroy the Asiatics despite his dignitaries told him: « we are at peace with our Egypt ». 3) He sailed northward to chase the Asiatics. 4) He intended to flush out the Asiatics and destroy their settlements by mean of Medjaïs troupe which is east. 5) He sent the troop of Medjays to encircle the rebel Teti, son of Pepi, within Nefrusy [near Hermopolis], which was a nest of Asiatics who opposed Egypt. 6) He devastated Nefrusy, demolished its walls, killed its people, taking booty and crumbling of slaves. District Nefrusi surrounded. 7) He moored in front of the citadel (Avaris) and intended to show time of weakness to Apopi, the prince of Retenu. 8) He ravaged the land of Avaris, ransacked it, took everything, had nothing left without inhabitants, made it doom to penury. He burned the settlements of the Asiatics because the damage they had done inside Egypt. He have not left a board from the 300 ships of Avaris port and took all beautiful imports from Retenu. 9) Some Egyptians listen the call of Asiatics and have abandoned Egypt, their mistress. 10) He captured the messenger, east of the oasis (in Bahariyah), going back south to send a message to the king of Kush in which Apopi was requesting help. 11) He went to the north again that made Apopi afraid. Apopi's members were dashed before he fought when his messenger told him what Kamose had done against the District of Cynopolis which was part of his possessions. Thus, Kamose never met Apopi. 12) He sent his troop to devastate the oasis of Bahariyah, while he was at Saka to prevent a rebel behind him. 13) He sailed southward, destroying any rebel who was on the road. 14) He arrived in Thebes at time of Akhet

¹¹⁷ C. BARBOTIN – Âhmosis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie
Paris 2008 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 169-179, 261-263.

¹¹⁸ C. LALOUETTE – Thèbes ou la naissance d'un Empire
Paris 1986 Éd. Arthème Fayard pp. 121, 591 note 63.

season to celebrate his defeating the South and his driving out the North, his seizing the country by force. It is worth noting, the only warlike activity of Kamose, clearly described, have took place in the south¹¹⁹.



¹¹⁹ D. O'CONNOR - The Hyksos Period in Egypt
in: The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives. Philadelphia 1997 pp. 45-63

This account is full of mysteries. Why Apopi who, was a powerful pharaoh (there were, for example, 300 ships in the port city of Avaris, more than Byblos the biggest port of that time!), disappeared in a ditch without fighting? Why Kamose did not mention what was the serious damage Apopi had done inside Egypt? The only rational explanation of this confused story is the detailed capture of the rebel Teti, the son of Pepi. We can assume the following scenario: after a serious dispute with Seqenenre (or an unknown reason), Apopi a Hyksos king would have gone to Palestine accompanied by his supporters including some Egyptians. In retaliation Kamose plundered the rich city of Avaris, which had been abandoned. Taking advantage of the situation, the viceroy of Kush, Teti son of Minhotep, who had already fomented a rebellion in the days of Antef VII¹²⁰, urged the Asiatics who remained in the area of Nefrusy (the headquarters of the 16th dynasty were at Edfu) to support him in his revolt against Egypt (Pepi is the diminutive of Minhotep)¹²¹. Kamose crushed the revolt and captured Teti. The northern land of Kush, called Wawat (part of the kingdom of Kerma, which had been independent), was annexed to Egypt. The viceroy of Kush was replaced by Djehuty who was appointed as “son of the king [of Egypt]”.

The Papyrus Rhind¹²² briefly describes the fall of Avaris and the events that followed. This papyrus is a copy of a vast mathematical treatise written under Pharaoh Amenemhat III which is dated: IV Akhet, year 33 of King Apopi¹²³ (below):



Very surprisingly, a scribe has added inside a blank the following note (which has nothing to do with mathematics. This scribe has probably wanted to keep track of these memorable events, not hesitating to include them in a mathematical treatise of great value¹²⁴):

^{1/}Year 11, II Shemu (1); we entered Heliopolis

^{2/}I Akhet 23; the mighty dignitary

^{3/}of the South attacked Tjaru

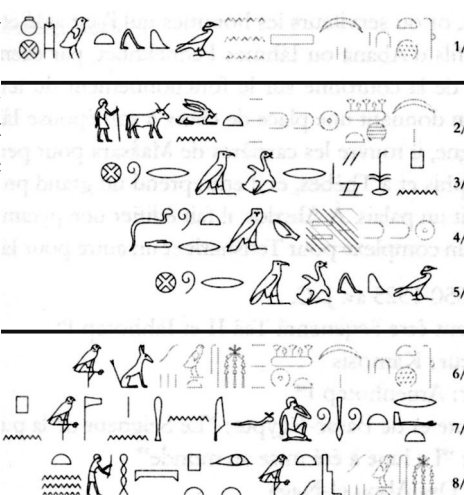
^{4/}[day] 25, we heard that

^{5/}we had entered Tjaru

^{6/}Year 11, I Akhet 3-birth of Seth [3rd epagomenal day]

^{7/}his voice is given by the majesty of this god (he thundered)

^{8/}Birth of Isis [4th epagomenal day], the sky has made rain



Once again, anomalies are numerous: 1) the fall of Avaris is not mentioned (!); 2) Pharaoh's name is not quoted, only the Prince of the South (?); 3) prior to Kamose, regnal years were reckoned from I Akhet 1, so it should have been Year 12 (not 11), I Akhet 3-. Forgetting the name of the Pharaoh seems inexplicable, since Pharaoh's name is specified in the year 33. As this anonymous pharaoh clearly belongs to the end of the Hyksos era, speculation about his identification were many: year 11 of Khamudy, Yeneses or Ahmose.

¹²⁰ C. LALOUETTE – Thèbes ou la naissance d'un empire
Paris 1986 Éd. Fayard pp. 108-110.

¹²¹ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 187-188, 221-226.

¹²² M. DESSOUDÉIX – Lettres égyptiennes. La naissance du Nouvel Empire de Kamosis à Thoutmosis II
Paris 2010 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 62-64.

¹²³ J. VON BECKERATH – Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten
Glückstadt 1964 Ed. Verlag J.J. Augustin pp.270-279.

¹²⁴ C. LALOUETTE – Thèbes ou la naissance de l'empire
Paris 1986 Éd. Arthème Fayard p.125.

C. BARBOTIN – Ahmose et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie
Paris 2008 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 180-182, fac-similé du papyrus Rhind p. 144.

In fact, the solution is easy: the pharaoh and his crown prince having died in a short time interval, there was nobody on the throne of Egypt during the evacuation of Avaris at this time. The scribe has therefore wrote a posthumous year 11 [of Seqenenre]. The powerful dignitary of the South who attacked Tjaru (Tell Hebua)¹²⁵, a city in Hyksos territory, to regain control, is clearly Kamose¹²⁶ (“mighty” is written with the hieroglyph *k3* “victorious bull”, as in the name of Kamose *k3-ms* “fathered by victorious bull”). Note of the scribe is preceded by a supply contract where appears the account¹²⁷: ^{1/} [...] *living for ever. List of the food in Hebehti* ^{2/} [...] *his brother, the steward Kamose* [...] ^{3/}. The note of the scribe can be understood as follows: probably shortly before the II Shemu year 11 of Seqenenre, the pharaoh and his son, Crown Prince Ahmose Sapaïr, must have died shortly before the evacuation of Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos, which had to be a major trauma for the Egyptians; 1 month later the army of Kamose entered Heliopolis, then 3 months later attacked Tjaru which fell in 2 days; 8 days later there were impressive tempest from the birth of Seth (3rd epagomenal day), being seen as an evil day.

The career of Kamose is very strange: 1) he wore three names of Horus (unique case for the 17th Dynasty)¹²⁸, 2) he is never mentioned as king of Upper and Lower Egypt in the documents not written by him; 3) his coffin (opposite figure) was not gilded and was not equipped with the Royal ureus; 4) Kamose does not appear on a fresco depicting the royal family of Seqenenre Taa¹²⁹ 5) his military campaigns are quite similar to those of Ahmose.



The genealogical reconstitution of Ahmose's family¹³⁰ imposes chronological synchronisms. Thus Seqenenre had: 1 (younger) brother, Kamose¹³¹; 7 daughters (their names beginning in Ahmose); 2 sons, Ahmose (Sapaïr) and Ahmose I (junior). The age of Ahmose at his father's death (around 1 year) and the duration of Kamose's reign (approximately 3 years) are deduced from the mummy of Ahmose indicating a death between 25 and 30 years¹³². Subtracting out this value the length of his reign, 25 years and 4 months, and the one of Kamose, 3 years minimum, the calculation gives around 1 year (= 30 - [25 years + 4 months + 3 years]). During these 3 years, Ahmose was crown prince (replacing Ahmose Sapaïr) as last son of Seqenenre and Kamose, as brother of Seqenenre, was the guardian of this crown prince. This imbroglio explains the following anomalies:

- On two rock-inscriptions at Arminna and Toshka in Nubia, the prenomen and nomen of Kings Kamose and Ahmose, as well as the names of two princes, are inscribed together. In both inscriptions, the names of Ahmose follow directly below those of Kamose and each king is given the epithet *di 'nh* “given life”, which was normally used of ruling kings. This indicates that both Kamose and Ahmose were ruling when these

¹²⁵ M. ABD EL-MAKSOUUD – Tell Heboua. L'apport de l'épigraphie in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 56 (2006) pp. 1-43.

¹²⁶ “mighty” is written with the hieroglyph *k3* “victorious bull”, as in the name of Kamose “fathered by victorious bull (*k3-ms*)”.

¹²⁷ T.E. PEET – The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus London 1923 Ed. The University Press of Liverpool Limited pp. 128-129.

¹²⁸ N. GRIMAL - Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 1988 Éd. Fayard p. 254.

¹²⁹ A. DODSON, D. HYLTON – The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt London 2010 Ed. Thames & Hudson Ltd, pp. 122-126.

¹³⁰ M. DESSOUDÉIX – Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 245-255.

¹³¹ K.S.B. RYHOLT – The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1500 B.C. Copenhagen 1997, Ed. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications Vol. 20 p. 309.

¹³² I. SHAW, P. NICHOLSON – The Dictionary of Ancient Egypt London 1995 Ed. The British Museum Press p. 18.

inscriptions were cut and consequently that they were coregents¹³³.

- An axe belonging to Ahmose represents him adult in the process of defeating the Hyksos (opposite figure), although it is Kamose who expelled them, according to the stele of year 3. At the time of the expulsion Ahmose was 1 year old, he could not drive fighting teams!
- In his biography the soldier Ahmes son of Abana describes his career from the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*nsw-bity*), Seqenenre. He then describes his acts of bravery at the time of the Master of the Two Lands (*nb t3ny*) Ahmose, with the looting of Avaris, the seat and then the ransacking of Sharuhén¹³⁴ in year 3, only date of his account, as in Kamose's stele, and finally the crushing of a Nubian revolt. He states that he had the privilege of accompanying his (anonymous) Sovereign (*ity*) when he was travelling in his war chariot. As Ahmose was 4 years old when he began reigning, the (anonymous) Sovereign had to be Kamose.
- Although liberator of Egypt, having opposed the Hyksos and having defeated the Nubians, Kamose is not the 1st king of the 18th dynasty but Ahmose.
- In the Buhen stele of Ahmes, Kamose is called "mighty ruler", not "king of Upper and Lower Egypt", and in the Buhen stele of Iy (Nubia) dated regnal year 3, III Shemu 10, the enthronement name of Senwosret I (*Kheper-ka-re*) took place of Kamose's name¹³⁵.
- The epithet "the Ruler (*p3 hq3*)" is sometimes included in the second cartouche in place of the name Kamose. Practice still attested under his successor Ahmose.
- In Emheb's stele, at Edfu, describing the confrontation at Avaris, year 3 is anonymous and there is a curious dualism between "god" and "prince" concerning king's title.
- In the stele of Kamose, at Buhen, despite its incomplete state, the title of King of Upper and Lower Egypt is this time attributed to Kamose as in the stele of year 3.
- The sarcophagus of Kamose contains many wealthy objects with Ahmose's name.
- In a royal chronology, appearing in a private document of the Third Intermediate Period, King Apopi is the immediate predecessor of King Ahmose.
- From Ahmose, regnal years no longer start at I Akhet 1 but from the date of accession.



We can assume the following scenario: after a serious quarrel with Seqenenre (for an unknown reason), Apopi decided to leave into Retenu and evacuate the city of Avaris. Shortly afterwards, both crown prince and pharaoh die suddenly. Kamose Seqenenre's brother, was ordered to hand back the country and the young Ahmose was appointed as new crown prince to replace his older brother. Kamose thus acted as representative of the young Ahmose. In the past, until the 5th dynasty, pharaohs were enthroned only with a Horus name. In time, the complete titlature had five names, but only two were actually used, enthronement name and birth name. Birth name aside, which did not change (except for some additional laudatory), other names could be changed to indicate a new political or religious program. For Kamose is first Horus name was "He who appears on his throne", the second "He who subdues the two Lands" and the third "He who nourishes the two Lands". These 3 names match his 3 years of reign¹³⁶. Historical reconstruction:

¹³³ K.S.B. RYHOLT – The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1500 B.C. Copenhagen 1997, Ed. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications Vol. 20 pp. 273-274.

¹³⁴ L. HABACHI – The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital Glückstadt 1972 Ed. Verlag J.J. Augustin pp.31-67.

¹³⁵ D.B. REDFORD – Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period in: The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives. Philadelphia 1997 pp. 5, 12.

¹³⁶ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Egypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2 Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France p. 195.

year				[A]	[B]	[C]	[D]		
1534	1	X	✓	10				[A] Taa Seqenenre King of Upper Egypt [B] Ahmose Sapaïr Crown Prince [C] Teti son of Pepi Vice-roy of Kush [D] Apopi Aauserre Hyksos King (Lower Egypt)	
	2	XI	✓						
	3	XII	✓						
	4	I	✓						
	5	II	✓						
	6	III	✓						
	7	IV	✓						
	8	V	✓						
	9	VI	I	11					
	10	VII	II						
	11	VIII	III						
	12	IX	✓						
1533	1	X	✓	***	(1)			Avaris, capital of Hyksos, is evacuated then sacked	
	2	XI	✓						
	3	XII	✓						
	4	I	✓						
	5	II	✓	***				[B] Kamose Prince of the South (Thebes) Tjaru is sacked [D] Apopi Ruler of Retenu (Palestine)	
	6	III	✓						
	7	IV	✓						
	8	V	✓						
	9	VI	I					[A] Ahmose Crown Prince [B] Kamose Horus (1) of Egypt	
	10	VII	II						
	11	VIII	III						
	12	IX	✓						
1532	1	X	✓	(3)	(2)			Hebrews near Sharuben (Numbers 1:1, 14:34-45)	
	2	XI	✓						
	3	XII	✓						
	4	I	✓						
	5	II	✓						[B] Kamosis Horus (2) of Egypt
	6	III	✓						
	7	IV	✓						
	8	V	✓						
	9	VI	I						
	10	VII	II						
	11	VIII	III						
	12	IX	✓						
1531	1	X	✓	3				Nefrusy is sacked Wawat is annexed Buben stele of Iy dated year 3 of Senwosret I, III Shemu 10 Sharuben is sacked	
	2	XI	✓						
	3	XII	✓						
	4	I	✓						
	5	II	✓		***				[B] Kamose Horus (3) of Egypt [C] Djehuti Vice-roy of Kush
	6	III	✓						
	7	IV	✓						
	8	V	✓						
	9	VI	I						
	10	VII	II						
	11	VIII	III						
	12	IX	✓						
1530	1	X	✓	1	-			[A] Ahmose King of Upper and Lower Egypt [B] Ahhotep coregent	
	2	XI	✓						
	3	XII	✓						
	4	I	✓						
	5	II	✓						
	6	III	✓						
	7	IV	✓						
	8	V	✓						
	9	VI	I						
	10	VII	II					Regnal years do not begin at I Akhet 1 any more	
	11	VIII	III						
	12	IX	✓						
1530	1	X	✓	2	-				
	2	XI	✓						
	3	XII	✓						
	4	I	✓						
	5	II	✓						

Julian calendar: Spring equinox = April 3 (in 1533 BCE)

Egyptian calendar: (month I, day 1) = September 10 (in 1533 BCE)

Babylonian calendar: (month I, day 1) = April 11 (in 1533 BCE)

This two-headed system of command, King and co-regent, has obviously led a double assignment in royal actions. Inscriptions, however, officially recognize only the king title. Hatshepstut, for example, although co-regent, has dated Thutmose III his documents (once Thutmose I for 'his' *sed* festival). Royal inscriptions are always complimentary to kings and their victories (obviously complete and grandiose), thus the so-called victory over the Hyksos should have been commented by Ahmose, but he did not.

The only record that describes the war of the Hyksos in the field, and not according to official propaganda, comes from an officer of El-kab, Ahmose son of Abana, whose autobiography is in his grave¹³⁷:

^{1/}The chief of the rowers, Ahmose son of Abana, ^{2/}says: « I want to speak to you, all people. I want you to be aware of the distinctions that are due to me: I was rewarded with gold seven times ^{3/}facing the entire country and the servants alike. I have been endowed with so many fields, my name is strong for what I did, safe in this ^{4/}country ever ». He says: « It is in the city of Nekheh (El-kab) I grew up, when my father was a soldier of late King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Sequenre*. Baba, son of ^{5/}Ro-inet was his name. Then I was a soldier in his place in the boat "the Wild Bull", at the time of late Lord of Two Lands *Nebpehtyre (Ahmose)*. ^{6/}I was (yet) a young man, I had not yet married, I slept in a hammock. Then I founded a home. So, I was taken aboard ^{7/}the ship "the Septentrion" since my excellence, I walked in the wake of the Sovereign (ity), life, integrity, health, when he was travelling in his ^{8/}chariot. They laid siege to the city of Avaris and I behaved valiantly, in the field, before His Majesty. So I was then assigned to ^{9/}the (ship) "Emergence in Memphis" and they fought on the water, the channel Padjedkou of Avaris. So I made the catch. ^{10/}I brought 1 hand, something that was repeated to the royal herald: I was given the gold of valour. Then the fighting resumed in this place and I made the catch. ^{11/}I brought 1 hand and I was given the gold of valour again. Then they fought in the part of Egypt which is south of this city. ^{12/}I brought a prisoner alive after plunging into the water. Look, he was returned as taken from the side of the ^{13/}city and it is by stating that I crossed the water. This having been reported to the royal herald, my reward was the gold again. ^{14/}Then they began to plunder Avaris and I brought back the spoils: 1 man and 3 women, a total of 4 (individuals). His Majesty's attributed to me as slaves. ^{15/}Then they besieged Sharuben in year 3 and His Majesty sacked it. So I brought back the spoils: 2 women and 1 hand, ^{16/}and I was given the gold of bravery. Look, I was awarded my taken as slaves! And then, His Majesty slew the Sinai Bedouins. ^{17/}It went up the Nile as far Khenthennefer (south of the second cataract) to destroy the Nubian archers. Her Majesty is doing a great slaughter among them. ^{18/}So I brought back as booty 2 men, 2 ears and 3 hands. I was rewarded with gold once again and, look, I was given two maids. ^{19/}His Majesty sailed north, his heart swelling with joy by the bravery and victory, because it had seized the South and North. ^{20/}So is the rebel Aata came to the South, his destiny was to be destroyed. The gods of the South seized him and he was discovered by His Majesty in Tentaâmu. His Majesty took ^{21/}him prisoner each of his people being an easy prey. So I brought 2 captured warriors on the ship the rebel Aata ^{22/}and he gave me 5 persons and 5 shared arourai field in my city. He was doing the same for all the crew. Then came this vile enemy, ^{23/}his name was Tetian (Teti-the-beautiful) who had gathered around him his rebels. His Majesty killed him, his associates (of Tetian) were as if they had not existed. ^{24/}Then they gave me 3 persons and 5 arourai field in my city. So I carried late King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Djeserkare (Amenohotep I)* as he sailed southward towards Kush to expand ^{25/}the borders of Egypt. His Majesty overthrew this vile Nubian nomad midst of his army which was taken tied, those who had fled ^{26/}were laying as if they had not existed while I was at the head of our army. I fought in truth and His Majesty saw my bravery. I brought back 2 hands which were presented to ^{27/}His Majesty and his people were sought and his cattle. Then I brought a prisoner who was brought alive to His Majesty. I guided his Majesty for 2 days to Egypt ^{28/}(passing) through the eastern wells. Then I was rewarded with gold and I brought back as booty by 2 maids over what I had presented to ^{29/}His Majesty (before). Then I was promoted to the rank of "Ruler's Warrior". Then I carried late King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Aakheperkare (Thutmose I)* while sailing south

¹³⁷ C. BARBOTIN – Âhmôsis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie
Paris 2008 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 197-202.

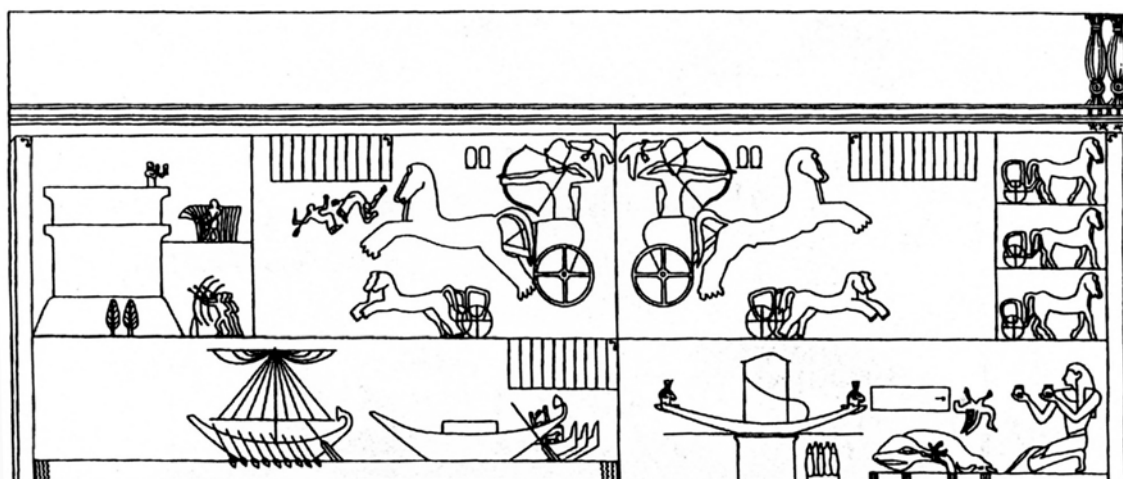
towards Khenthennefer^{30/} to destroy the rebellion through the mountainous regions and to repel an invasion from the desert regions.

The events are recorded in a chronological order¹³⁸. Early in his career, Ahmes states that at Ahmose's time he accompanied the Sovereign in his chariot (line 8. The hieroglyphic sign of the chariot can even inform us about its shape, see opposite figure). The Sovereign (*ity*) is not named, but as he got into his chariot the king was bound to be an adult. As Ahmose was 1 year old at that time, it might be Kamose. In addition, the facts related are identical to those described in the stele of year 3. Ahmes laid siege to the city of Avaris and behaved valiantly (in fact, he took only 1 man in the channel Padjedkou of Avaris) and plundered Avaris (no fight is mentioned). He besieged Sharuhen in year 3 and His Majesty sacked it. Sharuhen is besieged in year 3 (same date in Kamose's Stele), not for 3 years, for at least three reasons: 1) as Kamose crushed the powerful viceroy of Kush in a single military campaign, Sharuhen, which was a small city, could not hold long against Kamose's army, 2) no army at that time could sustain a siege of more than 1 year (the mighty Thutmose III besieged the city of Megiddo for 7 months); 3) such a memorable siege should have been recounted, but it is only mentioned off a sack of the city. The only battles and slaughters that are detailed all took place in southern Egypt and involved only Nubian rebels. Given the low size of prisoners and the small number of deaths, these Egyptian troops would be better described as squads of police rather than regiments of war.



The soldier Ahmose son of Abana did not mention Kamose in his autobiography like the soldier Ahmose son of Pennekhbet who described his service¹³⁹ under successive Kings (*nsu*): *Ahmose* then *Amenhotep I*, *Thutmose I*, *Thutmose II*, *Ruler (hq3)* and finally under *Thutmose III*. Queen Hatshepsut is not mentioned by name but by Ruler (coregent's title).

The chariot used as an offensive weapon appears for the 1st time under the reign of Kamose. This is confirmed by the relief of the “fall of Avaris” reconstituted (below) thanks to the many fragments found at Abydos in the temple next to the pyramid of Ahmose¹⁴⁰. Although no direct text accompanying this scene has been found, many internal details, however, allow its identification as presence of ships, the names of Apopi and Avaris as well as representation of weapons used.

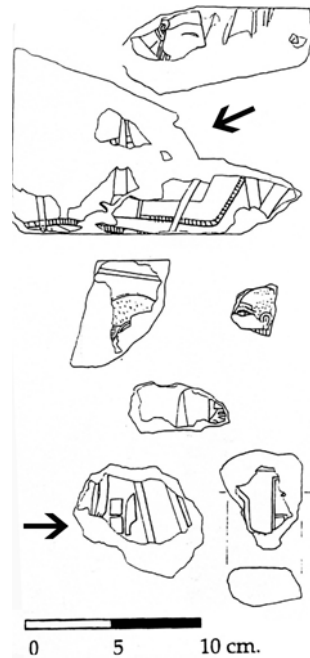


¹³⁸ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2 Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 213-216.

¹³⁹ M. DESSOUDÉIX – Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 113-132.

¹⁴⁰ S.P. HARVEY - The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos Michigan 1998 Ed. UMI Dissertation Services pp. 316-353, 529-550.

Apopi name (written ipp) appears, for example, on a fragment (lower arrow in the drawing) and an Asiatic recognizable by his fringed garment and his dagger sword (top arrow). On the relief of Ahmose, several Asiatic warriors (in later representations they have two bands crossed over the chest with a collar, which identifies them as Hyksos) are represented falling pierced by arrows. A small fragment of a relief immersed, discovered in the same context, named Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos (with the same spelling as in the Stele of Kamose). The arrows used by archers are Nubian, we know they were used by loyal Nubian archers to Kamose, the Madjaïs, during the siege of Avaris. The ships represented on the relief are warships such as "vulture" (Nile was used to transport troops). The description of a grain crop in a context of war is very surprising and might suggest that a famine caused by strategy was associated with this war. The relief of Ahmose therefore in full agreement with the indications given by the Stele of Kamose, but is an absolutely new type of representations in Egyptian art.



Later representations of this "battle" are most prolific in detail, like the one shown on two panels of a chariot of Thutmose IV¹⁴¹ (below).



Careful examination of protagonists reveals that only Nubians are portrayed with arms (the archers who oppose the Pharaoh), which is not the case of Asiatics identifiable by their beards. In addition, some Asiatics (indicated by arrow) wear two bands crossed over their chest with a collar, which is a characteristic of Hyksos soldiers (the depiction contains an anachronism since the chariot of Pharaoh has eight spokes while those of his opponents have four, as at the time of Ahmose). Egyptians have undertaken several aggressive campaigns against Nubia (land of Kush) and have conducted only a few raids of intimidation in northern Sinai, Syria and Mitanni¹⁴², but nothing specific, except threats, against Retenu where fled the ancient Hyksos¹⁴³.

¹⁴¹ J. B. PRITCHARD - *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*
Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 103-104

¹⁴² C. VANDERSLEYEN - *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2*
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 225-257.

¹⁴³ G.N. KNOPPERS, A. HIRSCH - *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*
Leiden 2004 Ed. Brill pp. 121-141.

If Ahmose no details the war against the Hyksos he insists, but on the other hand, on two issues: “he is now the king of Lower Egypt (stele at Karnak) and the events that preceded his reign were terrible (Tempest Stele)”. The stele of Ahmose at Karnak reads¹⁴⁴:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtyre, the son of Re, his beloved, Ahmose, living forever, the son of Amun-Re, his beloved (...) whose valiance is terrific, he who subdues the rebel, gives life and establishes Maat, the king of Lower Egypt for the kings in all countries, the sovereign, life-integrity-health, who tamed the Two Banks (Egypt), great in the terror he inspires, whose coronation commands the Nubian archers kneeling (...) he ruled over what surrounds sun's course, the white crown and the red crown set upon his head, the shares of Horus and Seth are under his authority, he whose pictures appeared in glory from his childhood (...) This is a king of the North that Ra made sovereign, Amun made great. May they grant the banks and the countries all at once (...) This is a King of Lower Egypt unique, a disciple of the star Sirius, the favourite of Sebat. The prestige of Thoth is by his side: may he deign to grant him know the rituals! (Thus) he will lead the scribes according to exact rules. It is a large holder of magic, who provides love of him more than any king of Lower Egypt (...) Follow this King of Lower Egypt in his campaigns, spread his empire by other people (...) honour him as for Ra, adore him as for the moon, he the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebpehtyre, living forever, who tames any foreign land (...) Glorify the Lady, the Queen of the banks of Hau-nebu [eastern Delta], whose reputation is high over any foreign land, who fulfils the will of the multitude, the wife of the king [Sequenre], the sister of the Sovereign [Kamose], life-integrity-health, the daughter of the king [Senakhtenre], the august mother of the king [Ahmose], who knows the business, who unites Egypt; she gathered its worthies whom she assured cohesion and took back its fugitives, she merged its dissidents and has pacified Upper Egypt, she has pushed its rebels, wife of King, Ahhotep, living.

Ahmose's statement confirms two important points: first, the war against the Hyksos (there is no mention) occurred before his reign. He focuses particularly on his new role as King of Lower Egypt, then, how her mother, Queen Ahhotep¹⁴⁵, managed bringing home some Egyptian dissidents (who followed Apopi) and pushing (not crushing) some rebels (Hyksos). Family ties of Queen Ahhotep clarifies two other points: 1) Kamose was the brother of Seqenenre since Ahhotep was the daughter of Seqenenre, the granddaughter of Senakhtenre and the sister of Kamose; 2) Kamose was co-regent, not king since titles are different: king [Senakhtenre] king [Seqenenre], Sovereign [Kamose], and king [Ahmose]. In fact, main events commented by Ahmose in his inscriptions concern his family¹⁴⁶ (Ahmose was Seqenenre's son and Senakhtenre's grandson)¹⁴⁷. Thus we know, for example, that his mother Ahhotep assured his regency from year 1 to 20; toward year 18, Satkamose his first wife died; he married then Ahmes Nefertari; his mother died around year 20 at the time of Amenhotep I's birth. This event marked a new era¹⁴⁸, as the hieroglyphic sign of the moon consisting of a crescent with two points upward will definitely change (unique in Egyptian history) and will turn downward from year 20 of Ahmose. Evolution over time of Ahmose's name (or Iahmes) "begotten of Moon":



The beginning of the reign of Ahmose was relatively peaceful since no incidents reported. A hieratic graffito dated year 2, found in the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-kab,

¹⁴⁴ C. BARBOTIN – *Âhmôsis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie*
Paris 2008 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 210-214.

¹⁴⁵ C. VANDERSLEYEN – *Les guerres d'Amosis*

Bruxelles 1971 Éd. Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth pp. 135-228.

¹⁴⁶ T. STASSER – *La famille d'Amosis*

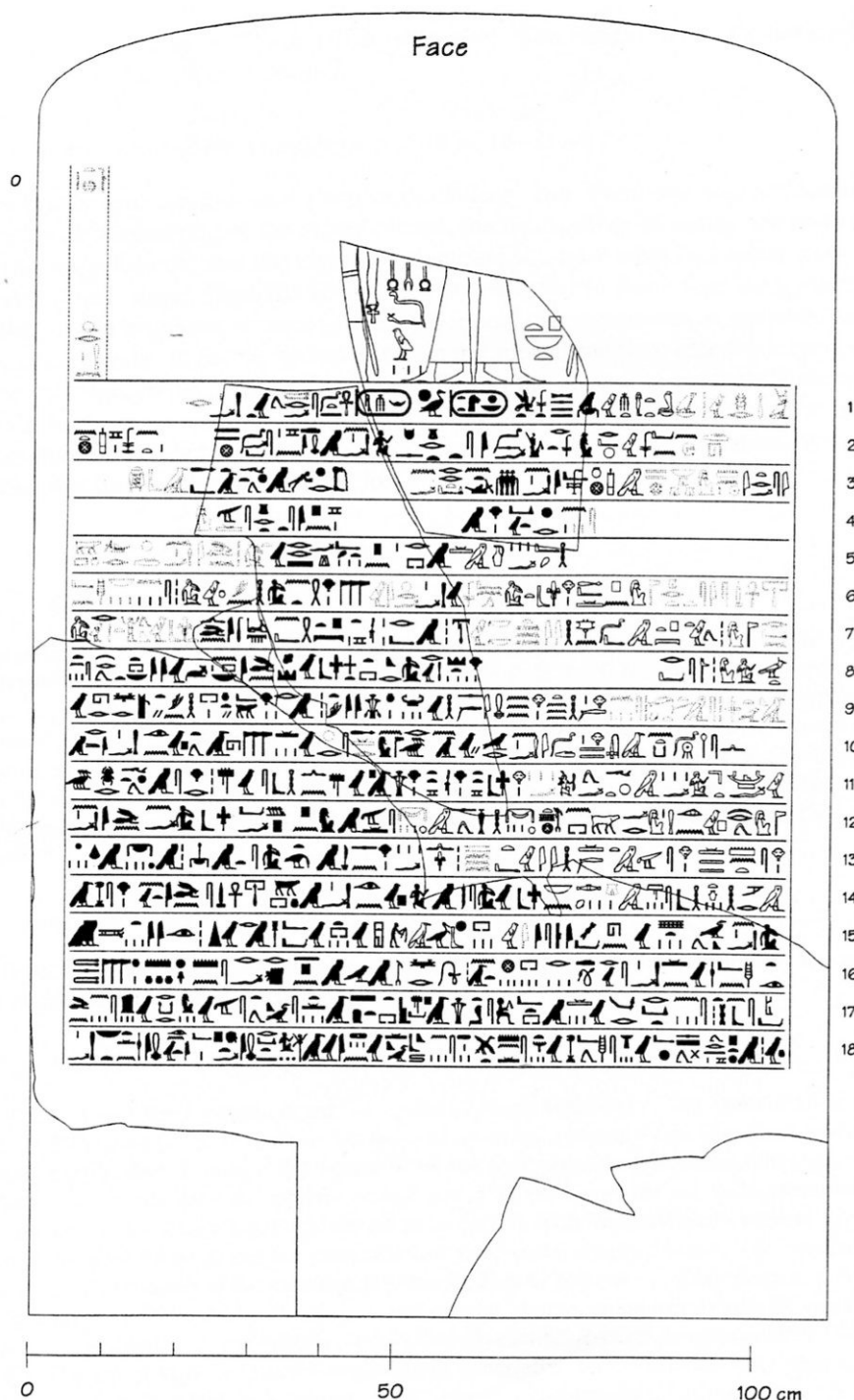
in: *Chronique d'Égypte* LXXVII (2002) Fasc. 153-154 pp. 23-46.

¹⁴⁷ S. BISTON-MOULIN – *Le roi Sênakht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVII^e dynastie*

in: *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012) pp. 61-71.

¹⁴⁸ The accession of Ahmose is dated around IV Peret 1 which coincided in his year 19 (in 1512 BCE) with a full moon (April 3).

provides insignificant information. Another graffito¹⁴⁹ carved on a block of a chapel at Karnak simply says this: *In year 5, II Akhet 12, level of the great inundation. The chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt and general in chief Ah[mose] came.* The most surprising information that Ahmose gave about the Hyksos period, which preceded his reign, comes from the “stele of the storm” or “Tempest Stele” dated year 1 (line 0). A high resolution readout made it possible to restore almost all of this stele¹⁵⁰:



¹⁴⁹ L. COTELLE-MICHEL – Présentation préliminaire des blocs de la chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}
in: *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003) p. 348.

¹⁵⁰ M. WIENER, J.P. ALLEN Separate Lives: The Ahmose Tempest Stela and the Thera Eruption
in: *Near Eastern Studies* 57 (1998) 1 pp. 1-28.

[Regnal Year 1 ... during the Incarnation of the Horus "Great of Developments." Two] Ladies "Perfect of Birth," Gold Falcon "Who knots together the Two Lands," King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebpebtyre. Son of Re Ahmose, alive forever—at the coming of His Incarnation [to ...], the Sun himself having designated him king; for though His Incarnation had settled in the harbour-town of "Provisioner of the Two Lands" [...] of the south of Dendera, A[mun-Re, lord of thrones of the Two Lands] was in Thebes. Then His Incarnation sailed upstream to [give him a] pure [...]. Now, after this offer[ing ceremony ... th]em, and they were put on the [... in/of] this [nome], while the processional image [...], his body united with this temple, his limbs in joy. [Then His Incarnation sailed downstream to the Palace, lph. But] this great [god] was desiring [that] His Incarnation [return to him, while] the gods were asking for [all] their cult-services.

[Then] the gods [made] the sky come in a storm of r[ain, with dark]ness in the western region and the sky beclouded without [stop, loud]er than [the sound of] the subjects, strong[er than ..., howling(?)] on the hills more than the sound of the cavern in Elephantine. Then every house and every habitation they reached [perished and those in them died, their corpses] floating on the water like skiffs of papyrus, (even) in the doorway and the private apartments (of the palace), for a period of up to [...] days, while no torch could give light over the Two Lands. Then His Incarnation said: « How much greater is this than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods! » What His Incarnation did was to go down to his launch, with his council behind him and [his] army on the east and west (kinks) providing cover, there being no covering on them after the occurrence of the god's impressive manifestation. What His Incarnation did was to arrive at the interior of Thebes, and gold encountered the gold of this processional image, so that he received what he had desired. Then His Incarnation was stabilizing the Two Lands and guiding the flooded areas. He did not stop, feeding them with silver, with gold, with copper, with oils and clothing, with every need that could be desired.

What His Incarnation did was to rest in the Palace, lph. Then one was reminding His Incarnation of the entering of the sacred estates, the dismantling of tombs, the backing up of mortuary enclosures, and the toppling of pyramids — how what had never been done (before) had been done. Then His Incarnation commanded to make firm the temples that had fallen to ruin in this entire land: to make functional the monuments of the gods, to erect their enclosure walls, to put the sacred things in the special room. to hide the secret places, to cause the processional images that were fallen to the ground to enter their shrines, to set up the braziers, to erect the altars and fix their offering-loaves, to double the income of office-holders — to put the land like its original situation. Then it was done like everything that His Incarnation commanded to do.

This inscription confirms three points: 1) the disaster linked to Hyksos occurred before the reign of Ahmose and it affected all Egypt; 2) the unprecedented violence of climatic elements explains the consternation of Seqenenre and his council when they met Apopi; 3) the origin of this conflict is linked to the Hyksos deity (Apopi's single god), because of the amazing sentence: « *How much greater is this than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods!* ». Regarding this last point Queen Hatshepsut¹⁵¹ is even more explicit: *Listen to him, you, namely all patricians and common folk in its multitude! I did these things by the design of my heart and the forgotten one shall not sleep for me! While I restored what have been devastated, I levied the foremost draft since Asiatics were in the region of Avaris of Lower Egypt. Resident aliens among them were disregarding the assigned tasks. They ruled without Re' who would not be blind when the god (Amun) assigned the steering rope to my Majesty. When I was established over the thrones of Re', I became known through a period of years as a born conqueror. And when I came as Horus, my uraeus threw fire against my opponents. I have banished the abomination of the gods, the earth removed their footprints! This is (governance of) the father of fathers, the Sun, who (now) comes at his dates. Damage will not happen (again), for Amun has decreed that my decree remain like the mountains.*

¹⁵¹ H. GOEDICKE – The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and Related Discussions Oakville 2004 Ed. Halgo, Inc. pp. 76-91, 102-104.

J.P. ALLEN – The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut in: *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 16 (2002) pp. 1-17.

Ahmose's reign has been peaceful. Ahhotep's regency was even a brilliant restoration of Egyptian authority. It was during this recovery period, which lasted 20 years, that king's counsellors were the most active. By respect of the court etiquette, advising the pharaoh was usually given in the form of a timeless (and archaizing) wisdom with the guarantee of an illustrious predecessor¹⁵² having sometimes experienced a similar situation. This is the case of The Teaching for King Merikare¹⁵³. Although this teaching is assigned to Merikare (around -2050), this text should rather be dated the beginning of the 18th Dynasty for the following reasons¹⁵⁴: this teaching is completely unknown before and is never mentioned by any previous document; the conflict with Asiatics which is described as catastrophic, is identical to the one mentioned in Tempest Stele under Ahmose; Antef II, in the last year of his reign (year 50), said he seized the thinite nome wholly. He speaks as if Thebes took possession of it for the first time. Moreover, nothing in the inscriptions of nomarchs at this time let think about a state of war or any disorders¹⁵⁵. The Teaching seems to have been written around year 20 of Ahmose, which coincides with the end Ahhotep's regency. Indeed, the note: *Quarry stones from Tura and do not construct your tomb through recycled materials* is consistent with the fact that King Ahmose started to build his pyramid (actually a cenotaph at Abydos) from year 22. The remark: *For these 20 years, recruits have been at ease, following their heart, and the military goes forth in strength. Those who are recruited enlist voluntarily like young men trained [and strengthened]. It is (our) ancestry which fights on our behalf*, contradicts interpretations assuming a King Ahmose who would lead a war against the Hyksos.

The beginning of the Instruction made by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khet[y], for his son, Merikare [...] But whose many partisans are now a multitude and respect him for his possessions and for his cleverness, one who has gained (men's) confidence and has ingratiated himself in the sight of his dependents, and who persists as a troublemaker and a spreader of talk, get rid of him, and slay his children, obliterate his name, and destroy his supporters, banish (all) memory of him and of the partisans who respect him a seditious man is liable to incite the citizens And create two groups of malcontents among the youth. If, therefore, you find that there is such a one among the citizens, [A ...] whose actions challenge you, denounce him before the officials and get rid of him, for he is indeed a rebel (...) Be proficient in speech, so that you may be strong, for the strength of a king is his tongue. Words are mightier than any struggle, And no one can outsmart him who is skilled of heart, [But you will sit secure] upon the throne. The wise man is a bulwark (even) for officials, And those who are aware of his knowledge dare not assail him. No evil happens in his presence (...) Show due respect to the nobles, support your people, fortify your borders and your buffer zones, for it is expedient to work for the future (...) Punish by means of flogging and imprisonment, for thus will this land be kept in good order, except for the rebel who has contrived his plots. But God is aware of the rebel, and God will smite his evil with blood (...) The ba will return to the place which it knows, and it will not wander from its familiar ways; all magic rituals will be unable to oppose it (...) Marshall your troops so that the Residence may respect you; increase your supporters in the military. Behold, your cities are filled with new generations; For these 20 years, recruits have been at ease, following their heart, and the military goes forth in strength. Those who are recruited enlist voluntarily like young men trained [and strengthened]. It is (our) ancestry which fights on our behalf, and I was raised up from it on my succession. Elevate your officials, promote your fighters; bestow wealth upon the young men of your followers, provide them with possessions, confer fields upon them, and endow them with cattle. Make no distinction between a well-born man and a commoner, but take a man into your service because of his deeds. Let every occupation be carried on [...] for the Lord of might. Keep guard over your border, and strengthen

¹⁵² W.K. SIMPSON – The Literature of Ancient Egypt
Cairo 2005 Ed. Yale University Press pp. 125-243.

¹⁵³ P. VERNUS – Sagesses de l'Égypte pharaonique
Paris 2010 Éd. Thesaurus Actes Sud pp. 179-213.

¹⁵⁴ A.M. GNIRS – Das Motiv des Bürgerkriegs in Merikare und Neferti. Zur Literatur der 18. Dynastie
in: jnt dr.w Festschrift für Friedrich Junge (Göttingen 2006) pp. 207-265.

¹⁵⁵ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 6-11.

your forts, for troops are profitable to their lord. Erect [many] monuments for God (...) But enemies will not be calm within Egypt, for troops will fight troops, as (our) ancestors foretold, and Egypt will fight/ in the necropolis, destroying the tombs with havoc time and again. I did the same, and the same will happen (again), as is done by him who likewise transgresses against God. Do not be too stern with the southern territory, for you know what the Residence advises about it. It has happened (in the past), just as such things may happen (again). There was no attack on their part, even as they maintained, but yet I advanced upon Thinis right to its southern border at Taver (...) Granite comes to you without interruption, so do not destroy the monuments of another. Quarry stones from Tura and do not construct your tomb through salvaged materials (...) I brought peace to the entire west as far as the area of the lake; (Now) it serves (me) of its own accord and produces meru-wood, one may now see the juniper wood which they give us. The east abounds with foreigners, and their taxes [pour in]. The Middle Island has returned (to us) and every man within it. The temples say: "O Great One, (all) men revere you." Behold, the land which they had destroyed has been established as nomes, and all the great cities [have been rebuilt]. What had been governed by one man is now under the control of ten; officials are appointed, taxes are levied, and every responsibility is clearly understood. When free men are granted a plot of land, they serve you like a single company; such ensures that no one among them will be discontent. The Nile flood will cause you no worry by failing to come, and the revenues of the Delta are in your hand behold, the mooring post which I have made in the east is secure, from Hebenu to the Way of Horus, well settled with towns and full of people, the choicest of the entire land, to drive back / any attacks against them. May I see a brave man who will emulate this, one who will for his own sake add even more to what I have done. I would be worried by an heir who is ineffective. But as concerns the foreigners, let this be said: The vile Asiatic is miserable because of the place wherein he is, shortage of water, lack of many trees, and the paths thereof difficult because of the mountains. He has never settled in one place, but plagued by want, he wanders the deserts on foot. He has been fighting ever since the time of Horus. He neither conquers nor can he be conquered. He does not announce the day of fighting, but is like a thief whom society has expelled. However, as I live / and shall be what I am, these foreigners were like a sealed fortress which I had surrounded and besieged. I caused the Delta to strike them, I captured their people and seized their cattle to the point that the Asiatics detested Egypt. Do not distress your heart on his account, for the Asiatic is only a crocodile on its riverbank which attacks on a lonely road but does not invade the area of a crowded town. Unite Medenit to its [nome], take possession of its adjacent territory as far as Kem-Wer, for behold, it is a lifeline against the foreigners. Its walls are a defence, its soldiers are numerous, and the serfs within it adept at carrying weapons, as are the free citizens within it. As for the region of Djedsut, it totals 10,000 men, Both serfs and free citizens exempt from taxation. Officials have been in it ever since it was the Residence; well established are its borders, and mighty are its garrisons. Many northerners irrigate it as far as the borders of the Delta, taxed with grain after the fashion of free citizens. For him who achieves (all) this, it will be means of surpassing me. Behold, it is the gateway to the Delta, and they have formed a protection as far as / Neni-nesut. Well-populated cities mean satisfaction, but beware of being surrounded by the supporters of a foe. Vigilance prolongs one's years. Equip your border against the lands to the south, for they are aliens who take up the panoply of war. Construct buildings in the Delta, for a man's name will not be demeaned by what he has accomplished, and a securely founded town will not be destroyed; so build mansions for your image. An enemy loves anguish, and his actions are despicable. (...) But as for him who revolts against you, this is (like) a destruction of heaven, (like) destroying a hundred years of monuments. If an enemy is prudent, he will not destroy them, In hope that his action may be affirmed by another who comes after him; But there is no one who does not have an / enemy. The (ruler) of the two banks is intelligent. The king, the lord of courtiers, will not act foolishly. He was wise even at his coming forth from the womb, and God has made him preeminent over the land above countless others (...) Behold, a dreadful incident occurred in my time: The nome of Thinis was laid desolate. Indeed, it did not happen through anything I had done, and I learned of it only after it had been committed. Behold my abomination! What I did is all too plain! Verily, destruction is detestable. It is pointless for a man to repair what he has destroyed or to rebuild what he has torn down. Beware of such! Affliction will be requited in kind, and every deed committed has its consequence. One generation of mortals

follows another, but God, the all-knowing, has concealed himself. There is none who can resist the might of the Lord of the Land (...) He has slain the rebellious among them, as if a man would smite his son for the sake of his brother. And God knows every name. Make no detraction from my discourse, for it establishes all the precepts of kingship. Instruct yourself, so that you may rise up as a man, and then you will equal me, and none will indict you (...) Implant love for yourself in the entire land, for a good disposition means being remembered, even after years are past and gone. May you be called "Destroyer of the Time of Evil" By those who are among the descendants of the house of Khety, And may they pray, "Let him return this (very) day!" Behold, I have told you the best of my thoughts; may you conduct yourself in accordance with what is laid out before you. Both the Teaching for King Merikare and the Tempest Stele agree, however, the description of events, according to the Tempest Stele, has several amazing items: 1) a storm of extraordinary intensity affected the whole of Egypt, 2) the country was left in total darkness (during 9 days, according to the inscription of naos 2248¹⁵⁶), 4) the storm decimated the people including the Palace, and 5) dead bodies floated down the Nile like skiffs of papyrus; 6) the temples were particularly affected; 7) the disaster was caused by a god greater than the will of the gods. Most Egyptologists believe that this description is overstated or even fanciful, but it fully agrees with another known as Admonitions of Ipuwer. There are also several historical parallels between the Admonitions of Ipuwer and The Teaching for King Merikare, since the two texts:

- Describe a disaster that affected the whole of Egypt and then lavish advice to Pharaoh in place to restore the country.
- Refer to the famous prophecy of Neferti (Admonitions 1:10-11; The Teaching for King Merikare 68-74), published under Amenemhat I (1975-1946). According to this famous prophecy, Asiatics who had just entered Egypt would cause her misfortune and would be expelled after a long time.
- Mention the revolt of the District of Thinis (8th Nome of Upper Egypt) resulting in a severe takeover (Admonitions 3:10; The Teaching for King Merikare 68-74).

The papyrus Leiden 344 containing the Admonitions of Ipuwer was published by Alan Gardiner¹⁵⁷, an eminent Egyptologist and deemed historian, always making authority. The papyrus itself is not earlier than the 19th Dynasty, although there are sufficiently strong indications that the scribe used a manuscript of which the history of transmission may go back to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. According to Gardiner, this text describes dramatic events rather than to be a prophecy:

- The beginning of the Admonitions reads: *The prediction of the ancestors, having reached* (1:10-11), which is understandable as the fulfillment of a past prophecy, like the one of Neferti (published around -1950), rather than a prophecy to come.
- Many reported details, like: *Those who were with the god's boat are yoked [...], and no one has travelled north to [Byb]los today. What may we do about pines for our mummies, [with] whose products prie[sts] are buried, (and) with the oil whereof the great are embalmed? From as far as Crete(?) they do not come! Destroyed is gold, finished is the stor[ing up of the s]eed(?) of every work; uncovered is <...> of the King's Estate (l.p.h.). How great is the coming of oasis-dwellers bearing their festal offerings: mats, [sleeping mats(?)] of fresh palm, [jar]s(?) of birds and plucked(?) reeds(?)! O, yet Elephantine, Thinis, the Upper Egyptian [nome]s(?), have not paid tax because of [st]rife* (3:6-11), would have no interest in a prophecy and rather correspond to an observation.
- On many occasions (10:6-11:12), the author of the text invites the Pharaoh to respond by destroying enemies and remembering the happy past. These injunctions are only meaningful if the described disaster had just happened.

¹⁵⁶ H. GOEDICKE - The Chronology of the Thera/ Santorin Explosion in: *Ägypten und Levante* III Wien 1992 p. 61.

¹⁵⁷ A.H. GARDINER - The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage Leipzig 1909 Ed. J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung pp. 2-18, 110-112.

Notwithstanding the foregoing common sense, this text is currently filed in the prophecies¹⁵⁸. About the dating, the Egyptologist and philologist Sethe considered that the best candidate for these events was the end of the Hyksos period, marked by serious disturbances including, when the Asiatics were in the Delta. Van Seters¹⁵⁹, thanks to the internal data of the document (social, cultural and political)¹⁶⁰, because the dating by philology is imprecise, scribes being conservative valued the archaistic style, was able to date these catastrophic events to the end of the Hyksos era¹⁶¹. For example, section 14:11-14 gives an important clue to the date at which the Admonitions was written. One reads: *Every man fights for his sister and he protects his own person. Is it the Nubians (nhsw)? Then we shall make our own protection. Fighting police will hold off the bowmen (pdtw). Is it the Libyans (tmhw)? Then we shall act again. The Madjays (md3yw) fortunately are with Egypt.* In this passage Egypt is in conflict with its southern neighbours, the *nhsw*. Here, however, they are viewed as quite distinct from another Nubian people, the *md3yw*, who are on the side of Egypt and who are closely associated by parallelism with the 'fighting police'. Posener has shown that this distinction between *nhsw* and *md3yw* is unknown in the Old Kingdom. In the biography of Weni from the end of the Old Kingdom the term *nhsw* applies to all the Nubians, both from *w3w3t*, the river valley area, as well as from *md3*, the steppe country. In the course of the 12th Dynasty, however, the term *nhsw* came to designate only the settled river people, while Bedouin from the southern steppe were called *md3yw*. It is in this period also that the *md3yw* were regimented as professional soldiers and desert police. The importance of this distinction becomes apparent at the end of the Hyksos period when the soldiers of liberation under Kamose include numerous *md3yw* who remain loyal even though Nubia was hostile to Egyptian rule and under an independent *nhw* prince. The passage quoted above, therefore, reflects a situation following the Middle Kingdom and not too different from that presented to us in the Kamose inscriptions. The history of the development of this *md3yw* mercenary force is also substantiated from archaeology by the so-called 'pan graves' in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom period and later. These graves are in character native to Nubia and have, with good reason, been associated with the *md3yw*. Another term used in the *Admonitions*, though not strictly ethnic, is *pdtw*, which has the general meaning of 'foreign bowmen'. It is frequently associated with Asiatics in Middle Kingdom literature, and this may account for the development of the term *sttw* in the sense of 'archer' as well as Asiatic. The term *pdtw* is used in The Instructions for Merikare in a description of the '3mw', and in The Story of Sinuhe in close association with *sttw*. In the *Hymn of Sesostri III*, however, the *pdtw* seem to include 'bowmen' of both Nubia and Asia. While most of the references in the *Admonitions* deal with the *pdtw* from the north, in the passage of 14:13 quoted above they also refer to hostile Nubians. The period when the *pdtw* were threatening both the northern and southern frontiers was the Second Intermediate Period. However, the previous conclusions are disputed by Enmarch¹⁶²:

- While recognizing some relevance to the lexical and topographic arguments for setting a date, he prefers to adopt a hypercritical attitude, inherited from the biblical higher criticism, and leave the dating in a range going from Senwosret III to the end of the Second Intermediate Period. He compares the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* to the "poems"

¹⁵⁸ A. FERMAT, M. LAPIDUS – Les prophéties de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 1999 Éd. La Maison de Vie pp. 5-55,85-195.

¹⁵⁹ J. VAN SETERS – A Date for the 'Admonitions' in the Second Intermediate Period in: *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964) Ed. The Egypt Exploration Society pp. 13-23.

¹⁶⁰ A. MCCOY – The Origin of the Hyksos and Their Rise in Their Second Intermediate Period. Requirements for graduation (2006).

¹⁶¹ J. VAN SETERS – The Hyksos a New Investigation New Haven London 1966 Ed. Yale University Press.

¹⁶² R. ENMARCH – A World Upturned. Commentary on and Analysis of *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* Oxford 2009 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 1-22.

Old Testament that contain a background of historical truth but not allowing to determine the time accurately. This review is biased because it is not argued.

- The story of the Admonitions is likened to a poem by Enmarch (without historical value) due to the expression: the Nile is into blood. This is arbitrary, if the words were poetic, how the mention that: *no one has travelled north to Byblos today (...) Elephantine, Thinis, the Upper Egyptian nomes, have not paid tax because of strife (...) the land of kingship by a few people who are ignorant of counsels. For look, it has come to rebellion against the strong uraeus of Re' which pacifies the Two Lands. Look, the secret of the land, whose limits are not known, is bared; (and so) the Residence has fallen down in an hour (...) the secrets of the Dual Kings have been bared. Look, the Residence is fearful because of want; (but) my Lord will stir up strife unopposed! Look, the land has knotted together in gangs* (3:6-10; 7:3-7), for example, is poetry? One can notice that the region in rebellion (from Elephantine to Thinis) is similar to the area revolted under Teti the viceroy of Kush and crushed by Kamose. In addition, the inability to navigate to Byblos is difficult to explain while it derives logically from the sacking of the great harbour of Avaris (with 300 ships) by Kamose.
- Although he knows the reconciliations between the Admonitions and the Exodus, he just mentions them while pointing the religion of their authors (Jewish, Christian and Islamic)¹⁶³. This explicit reference to the religion is exceptional (and abnormal) in a scholarly article and appears being made to discredit implicitly their work.
- According to Enmarch, the Admonitions speak only of the arrival of Asiatics in Egypt, not their departure. This objection is misleading for the following reasons: the text of the Admonitions is very incomplete at the end, where may be mentioned the departure of Asiatics, as he knows, the Egyptians rewrite history by presenting them as invaders, because before they left no text mentions any exaction from them. It is not the departure of Asiatics that shocked Egyptians, but all disasters (the "10 plagues" according to the biblical text) who preceded it.
- The king of Egypt is not named in the Admonitions, which would be a proof of its inauthenticity. This criticism is not serious, because many anonymous documents can be identified by their internal elements. In fact, pharaoh's name is: Neb-er-djer "Lord of All" (Admonitions 15:13), as recognized Enmarch himself¹⁶⁴. It seems that no pharaoh has borne this name, but it must be remembered that Ipuwer, although he had been a high dignitary, would never have dared to dictate Pharaoh his conduct. To avoid crimes of "lese majesty", Egyptian accounts were usually presented timeless to an idealized Pharaoh. Ahmose is a good candidate for the following reasons: his coronation name: Neb-pehty-ra "Lord of the power of Re," is close to "Lord of All"; because of his young age Ahmose's reign was carried out mainly under the regency of his mother (until year 20), that could explain advices given to the future king who came to the end of regency.

As one can see, some arguments are more motivated by prejudice rather than by arguments. The approximation of the war of the Hyksos with the biblical Exodus is a hot and sensitive topic. However, a connection is needed between the Admonitions of Ipuwer, the Tempest Stele of Ahmose and the biblical Exodus, since these three documents describe the same disaster on all Egypt.

To unscramble this situation a chronological summary is necessary. Apopi, the last great Hyksos king of the 15th dynasty vanish during the period covered by the 16th Dynasty, then reappears to discuss with King Seqenenre and to provide him defying letters.

¹⁶³ R. ENMARCH – The reception of a Middle Egyptian poem: *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* in the Ramesside period and beyond. (Oxford 2009) <http://www.rutherfordpress.co.uk/Enmarch%20-%20The%20Reception%20of%20Ipuwer.pdf>

¹⁶⁴ R. ENMARCH – A World Upturned. Commentary on and Analysis of *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*. Oxford 2009 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 30-31.

WHO WAS APOPI ?

Apopi was a genuine pharaoh, since he exceptionally got a full titulary. Indeed, no Hyksos king, except he, received Horus' name and Pharaoh's title (in official documents).

Name of:	Horus		Egyptian meaning
1	<i>shṯp t3wy</i>	<i>Sebeteptauy</i>	He-satisfies-the-Two-Lands
	Enthronement		
1	<i>nb ḥꜥꜥ r'</i>	<i>Nebhepesbre</i>	Lord-of-the-strength-of-Sun
2	<i>'3 qn r'</i>	<i>Aaqenre</i>	Great-and-brave-is-Sun
3	<i>'3 wsr r'</i>	<i>Aauserre</i>	Large-is-the-power-of-Sun
	Birth		
1	<i>ippi</i>	<i>Apopi</i>	-

The first enthrone name of Apopi (*Nebhepesbre*) appears on a dagger found in the tomb of an Asiatic named Abdu¹⁶⁵ "Servant of Him (in Hebrew)", with the following inscription on the handle¹⁶⁶: *The good god, lord of the Two Lands, [Nebhepesbre], son of Sun, [Apopi], given life. His lord's retainer, Naham [in Delta]*¹⁶⁷. This dignitary was a Hyksos because he has two crossed bands (in dotted) and a necklace on his chest, in addition, he holds a scimitar in his left hand (a weapon typically Asiatic) and he beard a Hebrew name: Naham¹⁶⁸.



The terms 'king's son', 'son of Sun' and 'god's wife', do not refer to biological relationships but to official titles of royalty. The title 'god's wife' was understood as 'king's wife'. In the same way 'son of Sun' was understood as "by divine right" and 'king's son' as 'royal son' or "belonging to the royal family". The official title 'King of Upper and Lower

¹⁶⁵ P. LACAU – Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire n° 28087-28126 Le Caire Ed. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale pp.86,86.

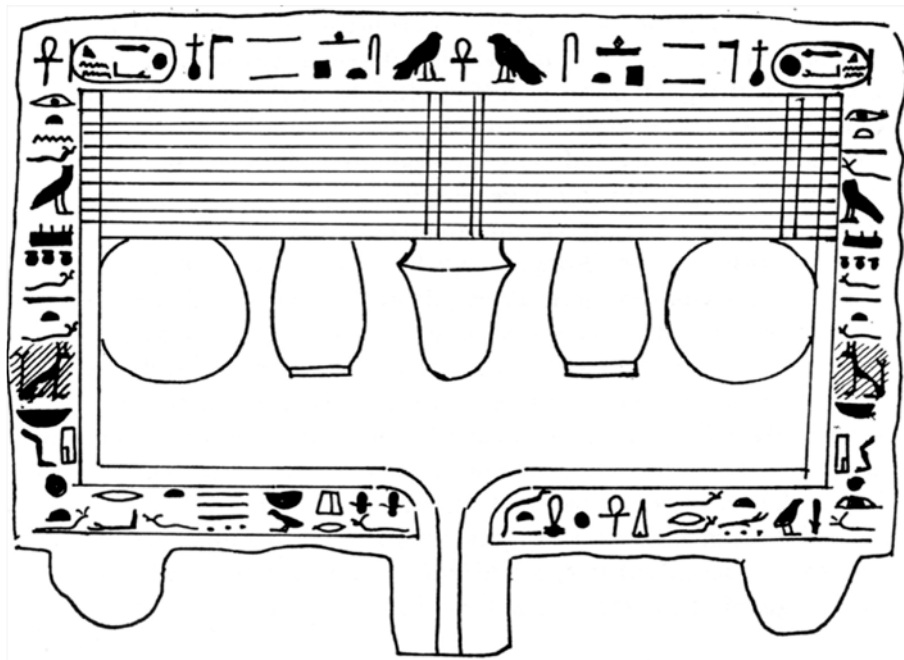
¹⁶⁶ G. DARESSY – Un poignard du temps des rois pasteurs in: Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte tome VII (1906) pp. 115-120.

¹⁶⁷ The clump of papyrus at the end of the name is an ideogram for the "Land of the North (Delta)".

¹⁶⁸ 1Chronicles 4:18,19. The text also specifies that a named Mered had married Bityah a Pharaoh's daughter.

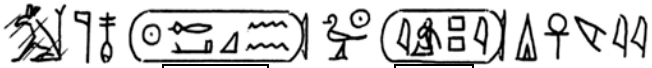
Egypt' written *n(y)-sw(t)-bity* means "He who belongs to the reed and the Bee" in which the reed (*swt*) symbolizes Upper Egypt and the bee (*bity*) Lower Egypt¹⁶⁹.

The second enthronement name of Apopi (*Aaenrē*) appears on an offering table found in Tanis¹⁷⁰. One can note that the representations of Seth, the god worshiped by Pharaoh Apopi have been systematically hammered:



Horus: pacifier-of-the-Two-Lands, the Perfect God, Aaenrē, may he live! (This is) what he made as his monument for his father Seth, lord of Avaris, affixing his flag-staves, that lie might make 'given-life' like Re forever. Horus: pacifier-of-the-Two-Lands, the Perfect God, Aaenrē, may he live. (This is) what he made as his monument for his father, Seth lord of Avaris, when he placed all lands under his feet.

The phraseology is typically Egyptian, Seth being presented as the father of King Apopi. Another inscription on a building in Avaris says¹⁷¹: *Horus: pacifier-[of-the-Two-Lands ...], Son of Re, Apopi, given life. [He made it as his monument for his father Seth, making] for him many flag-staves and a fixture (?) of bronze for this god.* The titular of Apopi is sometimes unusual, because the god Seth is placed in honorary ante-position at the beginning of the sentence (not the word), which is exceptional, as one can see below (on a granite vessel):


~~Seth~~, The Perfect God, Aaenrē, Son of Re, Apopi, given life, beloved of [-]

Apopi is the only Hyksos to have been designated by the title King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*nsw bity*), probably from a young age because several seals (at least 7) bear the title "royal son (*s3 nsw*)", which suggests that he was designated to the throne¹⁷².

The Perfect (sic) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Apopi, given life



¹⁶⁹ J. VERCOUTER – L'Egypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 1
Paris 1992 Éd. Presses universitaires de France p. 206.

¹⁷⁰ L. HABACHI – The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital
Glückstadt 1972 Ed. Verlag J.J. Augustin pp.56-65.

¹⁷¹ D.B. REDFORD - The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives
Philadelphia 1997 Ed. The University Museum E.D. Oren p. 7 N° 33,35.

¹⁷² K.S.B. RYHOLT - The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period
Copenhagen 1997 Ed. The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies pp. 45-48, 54-57, 129, 258.

The third entronement name of Apopi (*Aauserre*), the most frequent, appears:

1) without cartouche:



King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aauserre, Son of Re, Apopi, given life, Lord of the Two Lands

2) without cartouche in the scribal text¹⁷³ (Medinet el-Fayum), but with cartouche in the dedication: *Palette made by the king, the scribe of Re, whom Thoth himself taught, who expectore ~~the~~ ~~Ombian Seth and its followers~~ to/of all things; multitalented on the day when he reads faithfully all the difficult (passages) of the writings as (smoothly as [?]) flows the Nile [...] with a great [..., unique(?) ...], stout-hearted on the day of battle, with a greater reputation than any (other) king, protector of strange lands who have never (even) had a glimpse of him; living image of Re upon earth, solving(?) [...] people. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aauserre, Son of Re, Apopi, given life every day like Re forever. I was [...] to(?) his teaching, he is a judge(?) of the needy(?) commons — there is no false statement in that — there is indeed not his like in any land! [...] Son of Re, of his body, whom he loves, Apopi, given life. // Palette given by the king to the scribe Atju. Several phrases of this text are strange, such as: he reads faithfully all the difficult (passages) of the writings (...) his teaching, he is a judge of the needy commons — there is no false statement in that — there is indeed not his like in any land!*

On a alabaster vessel from Spain (Almuñecar), in rectangle: *The Perfect God, Aauserre, Son of Re, Apopi; Royal sister T(?)awa, may she live, and around rim: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aauserre, Son of Re, Apopi; Royal sister T(?)awa; may she live. The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, whose might has reached the limits of the foreign lands — there is not a country exempt from serving him!*

3) with cartouche: in the date of Rhind Papyrus: *Regnal year 33, III Akhet [day 1 under the majesty of] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aauserre, given life.*



Apopi's name was widespread since it was found, for example, in the tomb of Amenhotep I, on an alabaster vase dedicated in his name and on behalf of Herit (*h-r-i-t?*), a king's daughter¹⁷⁴. This dedication (opposite figure) also proves that Apopi, pharaoh of Lower Egypt, was on good terms with the Pharaoh of Upper Egypt: *Sister of the King of Upper Egypt, Herit, may she live, the Perfect God, Aauserre, Son of Re, Apopi, given life.*



Treasurer Ikhuir autographed a sphinx representing Sesostri III, such as: *Apopi beloved of Wadjet [Horus' eye], Lady of Imet.*

The most incomprehensible among all these inscriptions on Apopi is the systematic hammering of god Seth (in Avaris). The Egyptians indeed hammered only the Seth of Apopi after his departure, but not the ancient god Seth. This fact is unique in their history because there were two Seth at Avaris, worshiped and cursed at the same time¹⁷⁵! The most plausible explanation is to assume there was a violent conflict, just before the war of the Hyksos, between the "Master (*Seth/Baal*)" of Apopi and the other Egyptian gods.

Numerous Greek and Latin authors spoke on Jews in Egypt¹⁷⁶. Among those

¹⁷³ H. GOEDICKE – The Scribal Palette of Athu (Berlin Inv. Nr. 7798)

in: *Chronique d'Égypte* LXIII (1988) Fasc. 125 pp. 42-56.

W. HELCK – Historisch-Bibliographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie Wiesbaden 1975 Ed. Otto Harrassowitz pp.54-58.

¹⁷⁴ W.C. HAYES – The Scepter of Egypt Part II

Massachusetts 1959 Ed. Harvard Universit Press.

¹⁷⁵ H. SOUROUZIAN – Seth fils de Nout et Seth d'Avaris dans la statuaire royale ramesside

in: *Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* Vol. I (2006) pp. 331-354.

¹⁷⁶ M. STERN - Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism

Jerusalem 1976 Ed. Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities pp. 26-34.

whose works have been preserved there is:

- **Hecataeus of Abdera** (315-305 BCE), a Greek historian and sceptic philosopher: *When in ancient times a pestilence arose in Egypt, the common people ascribed their troubles to the workings of a divine agency; for indeed with many strangers of all sorts dwelling in their midst and practising different rites of religion and sacrifice, their own traditional observances in honour of the gods had fallen into disuse. Hence the natives of the land surmised that unless they removed the foreigners, their troubles would never be resolved. At once, therefore, the aliens were driven from the country, and the most outstanding and active among them banded together and, as some say, were cast ashore in Greece and certain other regions; their leaders were notable men, chief among them being Danaus and Cadmus. But the greater number were driven into what is now called Judaea, which is not far distant from Egypt and was at that time utterly uninhabited. The colony was headed by a man called Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and for his courage. On taking possession of the land he founded, besides other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem. In addition he established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual, drew up their laws and ordered their political institutions. He also divided them into twelve tribes, since this is regarded as the most perfect number and corresponds to the number of months that make up a year. But he had no images whatsoever of the gods made for them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form; rather the Heaven that surrounds the earth is alone divine, and rules the universe. The sacrifices that he established differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced an unsocial and intolerant mode of life. He picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation, and appointed them priests; and he ordained that they should occupy themselves with the temple and the honours and sacrifices offered to their God. These same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs. For this reason the Jews never have a king, and authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue. They call this man the high priest, and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God's commandments. It is he, we are told, who in their assemblies and other gatherings announces what is ordained, and the Jews are so docile in such matters that straightway they fall to the ground and do reverence to the high priest when he expounds the commandments to them. And at the end of their laws there is even appended the statement: "These are the words that Moses heard from God and declares unto the Jews." Their lawgiver was careful also to make provision for warfare, and required the young men to cultivate manliness, steadfastness, and, generally, the endurance of every hardship. He led out military expeditions against the neighbouring tribes, and after annexing much land apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and greater ones to the priests, in order that they, by virtue of receiving more ample revenues, might be undistracted and apply themselves continually to the worship of God. The common citizens were forbidden to sell their individual plots, lest there be some who for their own advantage should buy them up, and by oppressing the poorer classes bring on a scarcity of manpower. He required those who dwelt in the land to rear their children, and since offspring could be cared for at little cost, the Jews were from the start a populous nation. As to marriage and the burial of the dead, he saw to it that their customs should differ widely from those of other men. But later, when they became subject to foreign rule, as a result of their mingling with men of other nations (both under Persian rule and under that of the Macedonians who overthrew the Persians), many of their traditional practices were disturbed.*
- **Manetho** (c. 280 BCE), an Egyptian historian and priest: *There was a king of ours whose name was Tutimaenus. Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was averse to us, and there came, after a surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it by force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that governed us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants after a most barbarous manner; nay, some they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery.*

At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as fore-seeing that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would be desirous of that kingdom, and invade them; and as he found in the Saïte Nomos, [Sethroïte,] a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris, this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous garrison of 240,000 armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners. When this man had reigned 19 years, after him reigned another, whose name was Bnon, for 44 years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, 36 years and 7 months; after him Apophis reigned 61 years, and then Jannas 50 years and 1 month; after all these reigned Assis 49 years and 2 months. And these 6 were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was styled Hyksos, that is, Shepherd-kings: for the first syllable Hyk, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is sos a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded Hyksos: but some say that these people were Arabians. These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt 511 years. That the kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and that there a terrible and long war was made between them. That under a king, whose name was Mispbragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was named Avaris. That the shepherds built a wall round all this place, which was a large and a strong wall, and this in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but that Thummosis the son of Mispbragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with 480,000 men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem. That this nation, thus called Shepherds, were also called Captives, in their sacred books. When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward 25 years and 4 months, and then died [...] how this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and of the other impure people; that the king was pleased with this injunction, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies out of Egypt; and that their number was 80,000; whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. There were some of the learned priests that were polluted with the leprosy; but that still this Amenophis, the wise man and the prophet, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if there should appear to have been violence offered them; who also added this further, [out of his sagacity about futurities,] that certain people would come to the assistance of these polluted wretches, and would conquer Egypt, and keep it in their possession thirteen years; that, however, he durst not tell the king of these things, but that he left a writing behind him about all those matters, and then slew himself, which made the king disconsolate. After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection; which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typho's city. But when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place,

made this law for them, That they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all; that they should join themselves to nobody but to those that were of this confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their City, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenophis, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem; whereby he informed them of his own affairs, and of the state of those others that had been treated after such an ignominious manner, and desired that they would come with one consent to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised that he would, in the first place, bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris, and provide a plentiful maintenance for their multitude; that he would protect them and fight for them as occasion should require, and would easily reduce the country under their dominion. These shepherds were all very glad of this message, and came away with alacrity all together, being in number 200,000 men; and in a little time they came to Avaris. And now Amenophis the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, as calling to mind what Amenophis, the son of Papis, had foretold him; and, in the first place, he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and sent for their sacred animals to him, especially for those that were principally worshipped in their temples, and gave a particular charge to the priests distinctly, that they should hide the images of their gods with the utmost care he also sent his son Sethos, who was also named Ramesses, from his father Rhampses, being but 5 years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, being 300,000 of the most warlike of them, against the enemy, who met them. Yet did he not join battle with them; but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, he returned back and came to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals which he had sent for to him, and presently marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined 13 years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Amenophis, upon the borders of Egypt. And this was the state of things in Ethiopia. But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the aforementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country. It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses. After this, Amenophis returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Ahampses with another army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria (Against Apion I:75-91, 237-266).

- **Marble of Paros**¹⁷⁷ (written in 264 BCE): *From when Cadmus the son of Agenor came to Thebes [... and] built the Cadmeia, 1255 years (1519 BCE). From when [the first fifty-oared] ship [prepared by Danaus] sailed from Egypt to Greece (...) 1247 years (1511 BCE).*
- **Greek inscription** (dated 234 BCE): *The inhabitants of these [Balearic] islands were the Canaanites fleeing from the face of Joshua the son of Nun (Paschal Chronicle dated 630)*¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁷ F. JACOBY - Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker
Leiden 1962 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 993,994.

¹⁷⁸ A.J. FREND - Two Long-Lost Phoenician Inscriptions and the Emergence of Ancient Israel
in: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 134,1 (2002) pp. 37-43.

- **Demetrius the Chronograph** (c. 220 BCE), a Jewish chronicler: *Since Adam [in 5307 BCE] until the birth of Abraham 3334 years (1973 BCE), until the entry of Jacob into Egypt 3624 years (1683 BCE), until the Exodus of Moses 3839 years (1468 BCE)* (Stomata I:21, 141; Preparatio evangelica IX:21:1-19).
- **Artapanus** of Alexandria (c. 200 BCE), a Hellenistic Jewish historian: *Moses was the master of Orpheus. As an adult, he transmitted to people much useful knowledge (...) he confided the sacred letters to the priests, and there were also cats, dogs, ibis (...) This is why Moses was loved by crowds, and the priests, who considered him worthy of divine honors, called him Hermes, since he interpreted the sacred letters* (Preparatio evangelica IX:27).
- **Eupolemus**¹⁷⁹ (c. 160 BCE), a Hellenistic Jewish historian: *Moses was the first to acquire wisdom and transmit writing to the Jews, the Phoenicians received it, then from the Phoenicians to the Greeks. Moses was the first to write laws for the Jews* (Preparatio evangelica IX:26).
- **Diodorus of Sicily** (c. 50 BCE), a Greek historian: *Cadmus, who was a citizen of Egyptian Thebes, begat several children, of whom one was Semelê (...) And since he had become conversant with the teachings of the Egyptians about the gods, he transferred the birth of the ancient Osiris to more recent times, and, out of regard for the descendants of Cadmus, instituted a new initiation (...) In general, they say, the Greeks appropriate to themselves the most renowned of both Egyptian heroes and gods, and so also the colonies sent out by them (...) Now the Egyptians say that also after these events a great number of colonies were spread from Egypt over all the inhabited world. To Babylon, for instance, colonists were led by Belus [Baal], who was held to be the son of Poseidon and Libya; and after establishing himself on the Euphrates (...) They say also that those who set forth with Danaus, likewise from Egypt, settled what is practically the oldest city in Greece, Argos, and that the nation of the Colchi in Pontus and that of the Jews, which lies between Arabia and Syria, were founded as colonies by certain emigrants from their country (...) among the Jews Moses referred his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao (Historical Library I:23, 28, 94). Many generations later men supposed that Cadmus, the son of Agenor, had been the first to bring the letters from Phoenicia to Greece; and after the time of Cadmus onwards the Greeks were believed to have kept making new discoveries in the science of writing, since a sort of general ignorance of the facts possessed the Greeks (...) About this time Danaüs together with his daughters fled from Egypt (...) And a little after this time Cadmus, the son of Agenor, having been dispatched by the king to seek out Europe, put ashore at Rhodes (...) Now Cadmus honoured likewise the Lindian Athena with votive offerings, one of which was a striking bronze cauldron worked after the ancient manner, and this carried an inscription in Phoenician letters, which, men say, were first brought from Phoenicia to Greece (...) To the Muses, we are further told, it was given by their father Zeus to discover the letters and to combine words in the way which is designated poetry. And in reply to those who say that the Syrians are the discoverers of the letters, the Phoenicians having learned them from the Syrians and then passed them on to the Greeks, and that these Phoenicians are those who sailed to Europe together with Cadmus and this is the reason why the Greeks call the letters "Phoenician," men tell us, on the other hand, that the Phoenicians were not the first to make this discovery, but that they did no more than to change the forms of the letters, whereupon the majority of mankind made use of the way of writing them as the Phoenicians devised it, and so the letters received the designation we have mentioned above (Historical Library V:57-58,74) The ancestors of the Jews had been driven out of all Egypt as men who were impious and detested by the gods. For by way of purging the country all persons who had white or leprous marks on their bodies had been assembled and driven across the border, as being under a curse; the refugees had occupied the territory round about Jerusalem, and having organized the nation of the Jews had made their hatred of mankind into a tradition, and on this account had introduced utterly outlandish laws: not to break bread with any other race, nor to show them any good will at all (...) Antiochus, called Epiphanes, on defeating the Jews had entered the innermost sanctuary of the god's temple, where it was lawful for the priest alone to enter. Finding there a marble statue of a heavily bearded man seated on an ass, with a*

¹⁷⁹ B.Z. WACHOLDER - Eupolemus. A Study of Judeo-Greek Literature
Cincinnati 1974 Ed. Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion pp. 71-96.

book in his hands, he supposed it to be an image of Moses, the founder of Jerusalem and organizer of the nation, the man, moreover, who had ordained for the Jews their misanthropic and lawless customs (Historical Library XXXIV:1). Now that we are about to record the war against the Jews, we consider it appropriate to give first a summary account of the establishment of the nation, from its origins, and of the practices observed among them. When in ancient times a pestilence arose in Egypt, the common people ascribed their troubles to the workings of a divine agency; for indeed with many strangers of all sorts dwelling in their midst and practising different rites of religion and sacrifice, their own traditional observances in honour of the gods had fallen into disuse. Hence the natives of the land surmised that unless they removed the foreigners, their troubles would never be resolved. At once, therefore, the aliens were driven from the country, and the most outstanding and active among them banded together and, as some say, were cast ashore in Greece and certain other regions ; their leaders were notable men, chief among them being Danaïis and Cadmus. But the greater number were driven into what is now called Judaea, which is not far distant from Egypt and was at that time utterly uninhabited. The colony was headed by a man called Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and for his courage. On taking possession of the land he founded, besides other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem. In addition he established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual, drew up their laws and ordered their political institutions. He also divided them into twelve tribes, since this is regarded as the most perfect number and corresponds to the number of months that make up a year. But he had no images whatsoever of the gods made for them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form; rather the Heaven that surrounds the earth is alone divine, and rules the universe. The sacrifices that he established differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced an unsocial and intolerant mode of life. He picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation, and appointed them priests; and he ordained that they should occupy themselves with the temple and the honours and sacrifices offered to their god. These same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs. For this reason the Jews never have a king, and authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue. They call this man the high priest, and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God's commandments. It is he, we are told, who in their assemblies and other gatherings announces what is ordained, and the Jews are so docile in such matters that straightway they fall to the ground and do reverence to the high priest when he expounds the commandments to them. And at the end of their laws there is even appended the statement: "These are the words that Moses heard from God and declares unto the Jews." Their lawgiver was careful also to make provision for warfare, and required the young men to cultivate manliness, steadfastness, and, generally, the endurance of every hardship. He led out military expeditions against the neighbouring tribes, and after annexing much land apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and greater ones to the priests, in order that they, by virtue of receiving more ample revenues, might be undistracted and apply themselves continually to the worship of God (Historical Library XL:3).

- **Strabo** (c. 20 CE), a Greek geographer, philosopher and historian: *An Egyptian priest named Moses, who possessed a portion of the country called the Lower [Egypt], being dissatisfied with the established institutions there, left it and came to Judea with a large body of people who worshipped the Divinity. He declared and taught that the Egyptians and Africans entertained erroneous sentiments, in representing the Divinity under the likeness of wild beasts and cattle of the field; that the Greeks also were in error in making images of their gods after the human form. For God [said he] may be this one thing which encompasses us all, land and sea, which we call heaven, or the universe, or the nature of things. Who then of any understanding would venture to form an image of this Deity, resembling anything with which we are conversant? on the contrary, we ought not to carve any images, but to set apart some sacred ground and a shrine worthy of the Deity, and to worship Him without any similitude. He taught that those who made fortunate dreams were to be permitted to sleep in the temple, where they*

might dream both for themselves and others; that those who practised temperance and justice, and none else, might expect good, or some gift or sign from the God, from time to time. By such doctrine Moses persuaded a large body of right-minded persons to accompany him to the place where Jerusalem now stands. He easily obtained possession of it, as the spot was not such as to excite jealousy, nor for which there could be any fierce contention; for it is rocky, and, although well supplied with water, it is surrounded by a barren and waterless territory. The space within [the city] is 60 stadia [in circumference], with rock underneath the surface. Instead of arms, he taught that their defence was in their sacred things and the Divinity, for whom he was desirous of finding a settled place, promising to the people to deliver such a kind of worship and religion as should not burthen those who adopted it with great expense, nor molest them with [so-called] divine possessions, nor other absurd practices. Moses thus obtained their good opinion, and established no ordinary kind of government. All the nations around willingly united themselves to him, allured by his discourses and promises (Geography XVI:2:35-36).

- **Pliny the Elder** (c. 70 CE), a Roman naturalist: *I have always been of opinion, that letters were of Assyrian origin, but other writers, Gellius, for instance, suppose that they were invented in Egypt by Mercury: others, again, will have it that they were discovered by the Syrians; and that Cadmus brought from Phœnicia 16 letters into Greece. To these, Palamedes, it is said, at the time of the Trojan war, added these 4: H Y Φ X. Simonides, the lyric poet, afterwards added a like number Ψ Ξ Ω Θ; the sounds denoted by all of which are now received into our alphabet (Natural History VII:57).*
- **Josephus** (c. 95 CE), a Romano-Jewish historian and hagiographer of priestly and royal ancestry: *Manetho at all probable, wherein he relates the change of his name, and says that "he was formerly called Osarsiph;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Moses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Mou. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho, while he followed his ancient records, did not much mistake the truth of the history; but that when he had recourse to fabulous stories, without any certain author, he either forged them himself, without any probability, or else gave credit to some men who spake so out of their ill-will to us. (Against Apion I: 285-287,290).*
- **Tacitus** (c. 100 CE), a senator and a historian of the Roman Empire: *The Egyptians, in their animal-pictures, were the first people to represent thought by symbols: these, the earliest documents of human history, are visible to-day, impressed upon stone. They describe themselves also as the inventors of the alphabet: from Egypt, they consider, the Phœnicians, who were predominant at sea, imported the knowledge into Greece, and gained the credit of discovering what they had borrowed. For the tradition runs that it was Cadmus, arriving with a Phœnician fleet, who taught the art to the still uncivilized Greek peoples. Others relate that Cecrops of Athens (or Linus of Thebes) and, in the Trojan era, Palamedes of Argos, invented sixteen letters, the rest being added later by different authors, particularly Simonides. In Italy the Etruscans learned the lesson from the Corinthian Demaratus, the Aborigines from Evander the Arcadian; and in form the Latin characters are identical with those of the earliest Greeks. But, in our case too, the original number was small, and additions were made subsequently: a precedent for Claudius, who appended three more letters, which had their vogue during his reign, then fell into desuetude, but still meet the eye on the official bronzes fixed in the forums and temples (Annals XI:14). Some say that the Jews were fugitives from the island of Crete, who settled on the nearest coast of Africa about the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the power of Jupiter. Evidence of this is sought in the name (...) Others assert that in the reign of Isis the overflowing population of Egypt, led by Hierosolymus and Judas, discharged itself into the neighbouring countries. Many, again, say that they were a race of Ethiopian origin, who in the time of king Cepheus were driven by fear and hatred of their neighbours to seek a new dwelling-place. Others describe them as an Assyrian horde who, not having sufficient territory, took possession of part of Egypt, and founded cities of their own in what is called the Hebrew country, lying on the borders of Syria. Others, again, assign a very distinguished origin to the Jews, alleging that they were the Solymi, a nation celebrated in the poems of Homer, who called the city which they founded Hierosolyma after their own name. Most writers, however, agree in stating that once a disease, which horribly disfigured the body, broke out over Egypt; that king*

Bocchoris, seeking a remedy, consulted the oracle of Hammon, and was bidden to cleanse his realm, and to convey into some foreign land this race detested by the gods. The people, who had been collected after diligent search, finding themselves left in a desert, sat for the most part in a stupor of grief, till one of the exiles, Moses by name, warned them not to look for any relief from God or man, forsaken as they were of both, but to trust to themselves, taking for their heaven-sent leader that man who should first help them to be quit of their present misery. They agreed, and in utter ignorance began to advance at random. Nothing, however, distressed them so much as the scarcity of water, and they had sunk ready to perish in all directions over the plain, when a herd of donkeys was seen to retire from their pasture to a rock shaded by trees. Moses followed them, and, guided by the appearance of a grassy spot, discovered an abundant spring of water. This furnished relief. After a continuous journey for six days, on the seventh they possessed themselves of a country, from which they expelled the inhabitants, and in which they founded a city and a temple. Moses, wishing to secure for the future his authority over the nation, gave them a novel form of worship, opposed to all that is practised by other men. Things sacred with us, with them have no sanctity, while they allow what with us is forbidden. In their holy place they have consecrated an image of the animal by whose guidance they found deliverance from their long and thirsty wanderings. They slay the ram, seemingly in derision of Hammon, and they sacrifice the ox, because the Egyptians worship it as Apis. They abstain from swine's flesh, in consideration of what they suffered when they were infected by the leprosy to which this animal is liable. By their frequent fasts they still bear witness to the long hunger of former days, and the Jewish bread, made without leaven, is retained as a memorial of their hurried seizure of corn. We are told that the rest of the seventh day was adopted, because this day brought with it a termination of their toils; after a while the charm of indolence beguiled them into giving up the seventh year also to inaction. But others say that it is an observance in honour of Saturn, either from the primitive elements of their faith having been transmitted from the Idaei, who are said to have shared the flight of that God, and to have founded the race, or from the circumstance that of the seven stars which rule the destinies of men Saturn moves in the highest orbit and with the mightiest power, and that many of the heavenly bodies complete their revolutions and courses in multiples of seven. This worship, however introduced, is upheld by its antiquity; all their other customs, which are at once perverse and disgusting, owe their strength to their very badness. The most degraded out of other races, scorning their national beliefs, brought to them their contributions and presents. This augmented the wealth of the Jews, as also did the fact, that among themselves they are inflexibly honest and ever ready to show compassion, though they regard the rest of mankind with all the hatred of enemies. They sit apart at meals, they sleep apart, and though, as a nation, they are singularly prone to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women; among themselves nothing is unlawful. Circumcision was adopted by them as a mark of difference from other men. Those who come over to their religion adopt the practice, and have this lesson first instilled into them, to despise all gods, to disown their country, and set at nought parents, children, and brethren. Still they provide for the increase of their numbers. It is a crime among them to kill any newly-born infant. They hold that the souls of all who perish in battle or by the hands of the executioner are immortal. Hence a passion for propagating their race and a contempt for death. They are wont to bury rather than to burn their dead, following in this the Egyptian custom; they bestow the same care on the dead, and they hold the same belief about the lower world. Quite different is their faith about things divine. The Egyptians worship many animals and images of monstrous form; the Jews have purely mental conceptions of Deity, as one in essence. They call those profane who make representations of God in human shape out of perishable materials. They believe that Being to be supreme and eternal, neither capable of representation, nor of decay. They therefore do not allow any images to stand in their cities, much less in their temples. This flattery is not paid to their kings, nor this honour to our Emperors. From the fact, however, that their priests used to chant to the music of flutes and cymbals, and to wear garlands of ivy, and that a golden vine was found in the temple, some have thought that they worshipped father Liber, the conqueror of the East, though their institutions do not by any means harmonize with the theory; for Liber established a festive and cheerful worship, while the Jewish religion is tasteless and mean (History V:2-5).

- **Tatian** (160-170 CE) an Assyrian early Christian writer and theologian: *But now it seems proper for me to demonstrate that our philosophy is older than the systems of the Greeks. Moses and Homer shall be our limits, each of them being of great antiquity; the one being the oldest of poets and historians, and the other the founder of all barbarian wisdom. Let us, then, institute a comparison between them; and we shall find that our doctrines are older, not only than those of the Greeks, but than the invention of letters (...) the Egyptians also there are accurate chronicles. Ptolemy, not the king, but a priest of Mendes, is the interpreter of their affairs. This writer, narrating the acts of the kings, says that the departure of the Jews from Egypt to the places whither they went occurred in the time of king Amosis, under the leadership of Moses. He thus speaks: "Amosis lived in the time of king Inachus." After him, Apion the grammarian, a man most highly esteemed, in the 4th book of his Aegyptiaca (there are five books of his), besides many other things, says that Amosis destroyed Avaris in the time of the Argive Inachus, as the Mendesian Ptolemy wrote in his annals. But the time from Inachus to the taking of Troy occupies 20 generations (...) every intelligent person will most carefully observe that, according to the tradition of the Greeks, they possessed no historical composition; for Cadmus, who taught them letters, came into Boeotia many generations later. But after Inachus, under Phoroneus, a check was with difficulty given to their savage and nomadic life, and they entered upon a new order of things. Wherefore, if Moses is shown to be contemporary with Inachus, he is 400 years older than the Trojan war [1184 BCE] (To the Greeks XXXI, XXXVIII, XXXIX).*
- **Eusebius** (c. 300 CE), a Roman historian, exegete and Christian polemicist: *Orpheus, son of Oeagrus, first brought over with him the mysteries of the Egyptians, and imparted them to the Greeks; just, in fact, as Cadmus brought to them the Phoenician mysteries together with the knowledge of letters: for the Greeks up to that time did not yet know the use of the alphabet (...) From Misor was born Taautus, who invented the first written alphabet; the Egyptians called him Thouth, the Alexandrians Thoth, and the Greeks Hermes (...) Tardily and painfully they learned the nature of letters. Those at least who assign the greatest antiquity to their use of them boast of having learned it from the Phoenicians and Cadmus. Nevertheless no one could show any record that is preserved even from that time either in temples or on public monuments: seeing that there has been great doubt and inquiry, whether even those who so many years later went on the expedition to Troy, made use of writing; and the true opinion is rather that they were ignorant of the use now made of written letters (The Preparation of the Gospel I:6:4, I:10:14, X:7:5-8). In the year 508 of Abraham [born in 2016 BCE]: Egypt left (1508 BCE) under Moses leading (...) in the year 543 (1473 CE): Danaus calls Argos after being expelled from Egypt (...) In the year 563 of Abraham (1453 BCE) Cadmus, who left Egyptian Thebes for Syria, reigns in Tyre and Sidon (Chronicle of Eusebius/Jerome)*
- **Moses of Khoren** (370-486 CE), a prominent Armenian historian quoted by the historian Procopius of Caesarea (500-562 CE) in one of his Book (History of the Wars IV:10:21-22), wrote that a Phoenician inscription appearing on two columns built (c. 700 BCE ?) in the city of Tigisis in Numidia, beared the following sentence: *we are they who fled from the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun.*

As one can see, the classical authors have preserved the memory of the Egyptian version of a Moses, priest of the god Seth, hated by gods and expelled at the head of a band of cursed lepers. The influence of Egyptian propaganda and prejudices from Greek and Roman authors are obvious. The confusion of Seth under its animal form is originally an absurd legend: the Jews would have worshiped a donkey in their Temple! Thus, according to Plutarch, Jewish customs were derived from the god Typhon (Seth) represented by a red donkey (De Iside et Osiride §§ 30-31). For eradicating such prejudices, Josephus explained: *Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he had himself had either a donkey's heart or a dog's impudence; of such a dog I mean as they worship; for he had no other external reason for the lies he tells of us. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to donkeys, as do the Egyptians to crocodiles and asps, when they esteem such as are seized upon by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Donkeys are the same with us which they are with*

other wise men, viz. creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our thrashing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, we beat them with a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in our husbandry affairs. But this Apion of ours was either perfectly unskillful in the composition of such fallacious discourses, or however, when he begun [somewhat better], he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he hath no manner of success in those reproaches he casts upon us (Against Apion II:79-81).

For the Egyptians, Seth generally personified the god of foreign lands, which has led some to believe that Egyptian Christians worshiped a god with the head of a donkey¹⁸⁰, as seen on this graffito¹⁸¹ (opposite figure) of the 2nd century of our era (the crux ansata is Egyptian). The Greek text ALEXAMENOC CEBETE ΘΕΟΝ means "Alexamenos venerates his god". However, as a representative of Seth, the donkey was an ambivalent symbolism¹⁸². Tertullian (155-222) laughed at such rumours since he wrote the following remark : *But recently in this city, what is really a new representation of our god has been made public, since a certain criminal, hired to trick the wild beasts, exhibited a picture with an inscription to the following effect: 'The Christian God, the Offspring of a Donkey.' He had donkeys' ears, one foot hoofed, was dressed in the toga and carried a book. We laughed both at the name and the figure* (The Apology XVI:12).



The story of Manetho is heavily influenced by the Egyptian propaganda, but its chronological indications, without religious implications, are usually quite accurate. For example, he wrote: *When this people or shepherds were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward 25 years and 4 months.* Tethmosis (also written Thummosis) the first king of the 18th Dynasty, was Ahmose and his father was Seqenenre Taa. This indisputable chronological benchmark provides the following equivalences: *Tethmosis/Thummosis/ Ahmose; Mispbragmuthosis/ Seqenenre Taa; Amenophis/ Kamose; Apophis/ Apopi; Osarsiph/Osarsepho/ Aauserre-Apopi; Salitis/ Joseph?; Seth/Typhon/ The Lord of the land.* According to these equivalences, Manetho's account is:

There was a king of ours whose name was Tutimaheus. Under him it came to pass (...) they made one of themselves king, whose name was Joseph?; he also lived at Memphis (...) he found in the Sethroite nome, a city very proper for this purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theologic notion was called Avaris (...) it was the Lord of the land's city (I:75-78, 238). Joseph reigned 19 years, Bnon reigned 44 years, Arpachan reigned 36 years and 7 months, Apopi reigned 61 years, Jannas reigned 51 years and 1 month, Assis reigned 49 years and 2 months (I:79-81). That under a king, whose name was Seqenenre, the Hyksos were subdued by him, and were indeed driven out of other parts of Egypt, but were shut up in a place that contained 10,000 acres; this place was named Avaris (I:86). Ahmose the son of Seqenenre made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with 480,000 men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000, and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria¹⁸³; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia (!), they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this

¹⁸⁰ J.M. ROBINSON – The Nag Hammadi Library
Leiden 1988 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 208-219.

¹⁸¹ R. LANCIANI -The Palace of the Caesars
in: *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Boston 1898).

¹⁸² R.-J. THIBAUD –Dictionnaire de mythologie et de symbolique égyptienne
Paris 1996, Éd. Dervy pp. 22-23, 320-321.

¹⁸³ This precision: *for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia*, is commented as mistake. However, the mighty city of Babylon was sacked by the Hittites in 1499 BCE enabling Kassites kings to dominate the region of Assyria for several centuries. According to the Masoretic chronology, the Israelites entered Canaan in 1493 BCE, 6 years later.

great number of men, and called it Jerusalem (I:88-90). They [Hyksos] appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Aauserre-Apopi, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. He then, in the first place, made this law for them, That they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor should abstain from any one of those sacred animals which they have in the highest esteem (...) When he had made such laws as these, and many more such as were mainly opposite to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave order that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their City, and make themselves ready for a war with king Kamose, while he did himself take into his friendship the other priests, and those that were polluted with them, and sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Ahmose to the city called Jerusalem (...) (Kamose) marched into Ethiopia, together with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, on which account he received him, and took care of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted cities and villages for this exile, that was to be from its beginning during those fatally determined [1]3 years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for his Ethiopian army, as a guard to king Kamose, upon the borders of Egypt (...) But for the people of Jerusalem, when they came down together with the polluted Egyptians, they treated the men in such a barbarous manner, that those who saw how they subdued the aforementioned country, and the horrid wickedness they were guilty of, thought it a most dreadful thing; for they did not only set the cities and villages on fire but were not satisfied till they had been guilty of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and used them in roasting those sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the executioners and murderers of those animals, and then ejected them naked out of the country (I:238-241, 265-266). The priest, who ordained their polity and their laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Aauserre-Apopi, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis; but that when he was gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses. After this, Kamose returned back from Ethiopia with a great army, as did his son Ahampses with another army also, and that both of them joined battle with the Hyksos and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria (I:250, 265). When this people or Hyksos were gone out of Egypt to Jerusalem, Ahmose the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterward 25 years and 4 months (I:94, 231; II:16).

Manetho's story is therefore very similar to that appearing on the stele of Kamose. It is interesting to notice that Josephus disagreed with Manetho on a linguistic point concerning the name of Moses: *wherein he [Manetho] relates the change of his name, and says that "he was formerly called Osarsiph;" and this a name no way agreeable to the other, while his true name was Moses, and signifies a person who is preserved out of the water, for the Egyptians call water Mou (Against Apion I:286). Thermuthis imposed this name Mouses upon him, from what had happened when he was put into the river; for the Egyptians call water by the name of Mou, and such as are saved out of it, by the name of Uses: so by putting these two words together, they imposed this name upon him (Antiquities of the Jews II:238).* Josephus was partly right, because the first part of Mouses' name meant "water (*mou*)" in Egyptian, as confirmed Philo of Alexandria (De Vita Mosis I:17), however the second part does not mean "saved out of it" but merely "son (*s3*)" in Egyptian, like in the frequent expression "son of Ra (*s3 r3*)". Ramses (*r3 mss*) means "spawned by Sun god (Ra)", Ahmose (*I3h ms*) "spawned by Moon god (Iah)", Musa (*mw s3*) "son of Water (god Nile)", because the names linked to the pharaoh are governed by honorific anteposition. For example, the expression "like Ra" is written *r3-mi* "Ra like", the word "king" pronounced *n(y)-sut* is written *sut-n(y)*.

A lot has been written about the explanation of the name of Moses. According to the biblical text it means "pulling out of [the water]", assuming an unusual Hebrew form *mashuy* "being pulled out." This name is used in conjunction with the people who would "be pulled out of [the water]" by the man who would become Mosheh "pulling [his people out of the water]" in Isaiah 63:11,12". The first vowel of the name Moses is "o" in the

Hebrew text and "ou" in the Greek text (Mouses), but never "a" or "e", which prevents a reconciliation with the Egyptian word *mes*, meaning "spawned by", found in the name Ra-mes-es. The biblical text has preserved the Egyptian vocalization of this word in the name Ra-mes-es (Genesis 47:11), which is different from the Hebrew name Mosheh. If the name of Moses came from the Egyptian *mes*, the biblical text would have preserved this form, or would be likely Hebraicized in *mes*¹⁸⁴. Anyway, neither Flavius nor Manetho knew Osarseph. According to Manetho's account, Osarseph's name came from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis ("city of the sun", thus the god of Heliopolis was Ra). According to Chaeremon, director of the Museum of Alexandria (c. 40 CE), the name of Joseph in Egypt was Peteseph (not Salitis) and the name of Moses was Tisithen (Against Apion I:290).

Obviously former names of the protagonists was no longer understood by most historians¹⁸⁵ quoted by Josephus. The chronological sequence of events recounted by Manetho solves a puzzle: Apopi, the last king of the 15th dynasty reappeared 40 years later, just before the expulsion of the Hyksos.

King of Kush		King of Egypt 13 th Dynasty	King of foreign Lands (Hyksos)
	1780 -		14 th Dynasty
	1740 -	Tutimaecus (?)	Salitis (Joseph ?)
			Bnon (?)
			15 th Dynasty (Avaris)
	1640 -		Arpachan (?)
	-1570		Apophis (Apopi)
		17 th Dynasty	16 th Dynasty
	1570 -		Jannas (Jannes ?)
			Assis (?)
	1544-1533	Misphragmuthosis (Seqenenre)	Osarsiph (Aauserre-Apopi)
[Ethiopia]	1533-1530	Amenophis (Kamose)	Osarsipho (Aauserre-Apopi)
		18 th Dynasty	
[?]	1530-1505	Tethmosis/Thummosis (Ahmose)	Osarsipho => Moses

This chronological scheme involves identifying the expulsion of the Hyksos with the biblical Exodus, since Osarseph was Moses. This identification, which was that of ancient historians, would explain satisfactorily the catastrophic calamities experienced by the Egyptians, but seems to contradict the biblical account which says: *Consequently the Egyptians made the sons of Israel slave under tyranny. And they kept making their life bitter with hard slavery at clay mortar and bricks and with every form of slavery in the field, yes, every form of slavery of theirs in which they used them as slaves under tyranny* (Exodus 1:13-14). This erroneous view is derived from a mistranslation of the word *ebed* "servant, domestic, worker": *So the Egyptians gave them no mercy in the demands they made, making their lives miserable with hard labour: with digging clay, making bricks, doing various kinds of field — work — all sorts of labour that they imposed on them without mercy* (New Jerusalem Bible). In Egyptian language, like in Old Hebrew, the word 'slave' did not exist, because any Egyptian was a servant of the Pharaoh (consequently the word "free man" does not exist either), its meaning depends of the context. *Ebed-melech*, for example, means "king's servant" that is "king's minister", but sometimes also "king's flunkie". If the Hebrews were abused slaves, they would not have wanted returning to Egypt after their departure, which was not the case (Exodus 16:3). It would be more appropriate to speak of exploited, sometimes, overexploited workers.

¹⁸⁴ The exchange between s and š is very frequent (but not understood). For example, the Egyptian name Amen-mes is rendered by Aman-maša in Akkadian (letter EA 113), and the famous Ra-messu (Ramses) is rendered by Ria-mašeša (Hattusili treaty with Ramses).

¹⁸⁵ J.G. GAGER – Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism
New York 1972 Ed. Abingdon Press 113-133.

WAS HYKSOS APOPI MOSES ?

The Greek word 'Hyksos' means 'ruler of foreign lands (*hq3 h3swt*)' in Egyptian. Thus, Joseph was the first Hyksos: *And Pharaoh added to Joseph: See, I do place you over all the land of Egypt. With that Pharaoh removed his signet ring from his own hand and put it upon Joseph's hand and clothed him with garments of fine linen and placed a necklace of gold about his neck. Moreover, he had him ride in the second chariot of honour that he had, so that they should call out ahead of him, "Avrekhl!" thus putting him over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh further said to Joseph: I am Pharaoh, but without your authorization no man may lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. After that Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphenathpaneah and gave him Asenath the daughter of Potiphra the priest of On [Heliopolis] as a wife. And Joseph began to go out over the land of Egypt. And Joseph was 30 years old when he stood before Pharaoh the king of Egypt. Then Joseph went out from before Pharaoh and toured about in all the land of Egypt. And during the 7 years of plenty the land went on producing by the handfuls. And he kept collecting all the foodstuffs of the 7 years that came upon the land of Egypt and he would put the foodstuffs in the cities (...) Accordingly Joseph came and reported to Pharaoh and said: My father and my brothers and their flocks and their herds and all they have come from the land of Canaan, and here they are in the land of Goshen. And from the whole number of his brothers he took 5 men, that he might present them to Pharaoh. Then Pharaoh said to his brothers: What is Your occupation? So they said to Pharaoh: Your servants are herders of sheep, both we and our forefathers. After that they said to Pharaoh: We have come to reside as aliens in the land, because there is no pasturage for the flock that your servants have, for the famine is severe in the land of Canaan. And now let your servants dwell, please, in the land of Goshen. At that Pharaoh said to Joseph: Your father and your brothers have come here to you. The land of Egypt is at your disposal. Have your father and your brothers dwell in the very best of the land. Let them dwell in the land of Goshen, and if you know that there are among them able men, you must appoint them cattle chiefs over what is mine (Genesis 41:41-48; 47:1-6).*

The investiture ceremony of Joseph is quite consistent with Egyptian customs that describe the enthronement of a vizier, second person of State. According to the biblical account, Joseph officiated as vizier over a period of 14 years (1758-1744). Is there a trace of Joseph in Egyptian documents? Pharaoh Sehetepibre is a good candidate. The Turin King List mentions two kings with the same name: Sehetepibre I (1765-1760?) and Sehetepibre II Hornedjheritef (1755-1750?) four lines later. There is obviously an oddity¹⁸⁶, because Sehetepibre had a name preceded by a strange affiliation *sa aamu* "son of Asiatics", whereas he was an Egyptian king of the 13th Dynasty, not a Hyksos ruler, in addition, his birth name means "He who satisfies the heart of Ra", which is typically Egyptian. Furthermore, on the site of Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris), a vast palace has whose existence was brief, a few years at most, has not even been completed. This building dates from the beginning of the 13th Dynasty. Various details — including the discovery of a cylinder seal "Ruler of Retenu" in a style typically Syrian, lack of foundation deposits, remains of animals' offerings in a circular pit — are foreign to Egyptian habits and make think from Asia to a Canaanite influence. This palace could be the 'summer residence' of the king of Egypt Hetepibre 'son of Asiatics', whose statue was found 100 meters away. These peculiarities may be explained as follows: Sehetepibre was an actual Egyptian king of the 13th Dynasty who would delegated his authority to an Asiatic vizier (Joseph). Having the proxy of Pharaoh, this vizier would act on behalf of Pharaoh by preceding Pharaoh's name with the words "son of Asiatics". The Egyptian word *Aamu* (*3mm*), translated as "Asiatics", could refer to *Aramu* "those of Aram". Joseph was an Aramean, rendered "Syrian" in the Septuagint (Deuteronomy 26:5). The Egyptian word *Sutu* (*Swtu*) is also translated as "Asiatics", but refers more specifically

¹⁸⁶ C. VANDERSLEYEN – L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 128-129.

to Suteans of Moab, "Sons of Seth" according to Numbers 24:17. For example, Abisa[r], the Hyksos ruler pictured at Beni Hassan (near Nefrusy), came from Moab (Su[t]u). Moabite rulers are called "sheiks" in the Bible (Genesis 36:29-40).

Joseph dwelt in the land of Goshen, also referred as the 'field of Tanis' (Genesis 45:10; 47:11; Psalms 78:12, 43) called 'meadow of Djau' in Egyptian. The choice of Tanis, founded under Amenemhat I¹⁸⁷ (1975-1946), was not due to chance. According to the Bible, after arriving in Canaan at 75 years old (in 1963 BCE), Abraham would have changed the name of Kiriath-arba "city of four" into Hebron "joining" (Genesis 23:1) and then, 7 years later, would found the city of Tanis "moving tents" (Numbers 13:22). At the time of Joseph, this city was probably to have a few hundred Asiatic inhabitants.

The order: *you must appoint able men cattle chiefs over what is mine*, entailed in fact significant responsibilities. The title "cattle chiefs (*sarê migneḥ*)" may also be understood as "rulers of purchase property" (Genesis 23:18). Livestock being the main wealth of Egypt, the pharaohs established, from the very beginning, regular censuses of their livestock. When the 7 years of famine ended, Joseph had to relinquish his post of vizier, however the administration (able men) he put in place continued to operate until his death (in 1678 BCE). During this period (1744-1678), Hebrew administration leaders (14th Dynasty) worked as viziers of the North (Delta). These Hebrew leaders are qualified as foolish, because of their reliance on Egyptian government, since this collaboration with authorities will train them to support Egyptian taskmasters against Hebrew officers (Exodus 5:14). One reads: *The princes of Tanis are indeed foolish. As regards the wise ones of Pharaoh's counsellors, [their] counsel is something unreasonable. How will You men say to Pharaoh: I am the son of wise ones, the son of kings of ancient time? Where, then, are they — the wise men of yours — that they may now tell you and that they may know what Jehovah of armies has counselled concerning Egypt? The princes of Tanis have acted foolishly, the princes of Memphis have been deceived, the cornerstone [the chiefs, LXX] of its tribes have caused Egypt to wander about.* (Isaiah 19:11-13). The passage, written at the time of Osorkon IV, could concern this Pharaoh, but the order: *How will You men say to Pharaoh*, points out only Israelites, in addition, the word "tribes" usually refers to the tribes of Israel (Exodus 28:21, Numbers 4:18), which has puzzled some translators, because Egyptian system did not know its kind of division into tribes, contrary to Israelites.

After the death of Joseph, as Hebrew people greatly increased (Exodus 1:7), the viziers of the North received new responsibilities and became in fact co-regents (beginning of the 15th Dynasty). It can be seen there is no more vizier after Sobekhotep IV (1686-1677), a king of the 13th Dynasty, until Ahmose¹⁸⁸ (1530-1505), first king of the 18th Dynasty. Thus, Moses was born during the 15th dynasty: *She conceived and gave birth to a son. When she saw how good-looking he was, she kept him concealed for 3 months (...) Now Pharaoh's daughter went down to bathe in the Nile river, while her maids walked along the riverside. Among the reeds she noticed the basket, and she sent her maid to fetch it. She opened it and saw the child: the baby was crying. Feeling sorry for it, she said: This is one of the little Hebrews. The child's sister then said to Pharaoh's daughter: Shall I go and find you a nurse among the Hebrew women to nurse the child for you? Yes, said Pharaoh's daughter, and the girl went and called the child's own mother. Pharaoh's daughter said to her: Take this child away and nurse it for me. I shall pay you myself for doing so. So the woman took the child away and nursed it. When the child grew up, she brought him to Pharaoh's daughter who treated him like a son; she named him Moses because, she said: I drew him out of the water* (Exodus 2:2-10). As Pharaoh's daughter was not able to speak Hebrew, the name Moses must be Egyptian. One can notice that in Hebrew this name probably means "pulled out (*mosheb*)" (the word

¹⁸⁷ N. GRIMAL - Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 1988 Éd. Fayard p. 212.

¹⁸⁸ M. DESSOUDREIX - Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 728-732.

"water" is missing), whereas in Egyptian it means "Water's son (*mu-sa*)". Moses did not receive this Egyptian name from his parents, but from Pharaoh's daughter after his "baptism" in the Nile. As it was received after the age of 3 months (the text of Exodus 2:10 even suggests after his weaning), it was therefore a nickname and not a birth name (like Israel is the nickname for Jacob, his birth name). The name of Hebrew children was given by parents based on a striking condition at birth. As Moses was beautiful at his birth, which is emphasized by biblical texts (Exodus 2:2) as by Josephus (Jewish Antiquities II:231), "divinely beautiful" according to Acts 7:20, he had to be called "very beautiful". In Hebrew "beautiful" is rendered as Ioppa (Joshua 19:46) and "splendid" as *iepepiah* (Jeremiah 46:20).

Moses was adopted as king's son through Pharaoh's daughter (Exodus 2:10). Adoption in the royal family conferred its holder the honorific title of "king's son." If the daughter of Pharaoh had more prestigious position of "Wife of the god", she was able to confer dynastic position to his son who could be considered not just as king, what were already the kings of the 15th Dynasty, but as a real co-regent. Some Egyptian accounts show that women of royal origin could play an important role in the choice of future pharaohs. According to Flavius Josephus: *Thermuthis therefore perceiving him to be so remarkable a child, adopted him for her son, having no child of her own. And when one time had carried Moses to her father, she showed him to him, and said she thought to make him her successor, if it should please God she should have no legitimate child of her own; and to him: I have brought up a child who is of a divine form, and of a generous mind; and as I have received him from the bounty of the river, in, I thought proper to adopt him my son, and the heir of thy kingdom. And she had said this, she put the infant into her father's hands: so he took him, and hugged him to his breast; and on his daughter's account, in a pleasant way, put his diadem upon his head; but Moses threw it down to the ground, and, in a puerile mood, he wreathed it round, and trod upon his feet, which seemed to bring along with evil presage concerning the kingdom of Egypt. But when the sacred scribe saw this, (he was the person who foretold that his nativity would the dominion of that kingdom low,) he made a violent attempt to kill him; and crying out in a frightful manner, he said: This, O king! this child is he of whom God foretold, that if we kill him we shall be in no danger; he himself affords an attestation to the prediction of the same thing, by his trampling upon thy government, and treading upon thy diadem. Take him, therefore, out of the way, and deliver the Egyptians from the fear they are in about him; and deprive the Hebrews of the hope they have of being encouraged by him. But Thermuthis prevented him, and snatched the child away. And the king was not hasty to slay him, God himself, whose providence protected Moses, inclining the king to spare him. He was, therefore, educated with great care* (Jewish Antiquities II:232-233). The text of Josephus on the royal status of Moses is often considered a legend by archeologists although these details were known from 280 BCE thanks to Manetho. Strabo, a Greek geographer and historian, wrote for example around 20 CE: *An Egyptian priest named Moses, who possessed [managed] a portion of the country called the Lower [Egypt]¹⁸⁹, being dissatisfied with the established institutions there, left it and came to Judea with a large body of people who worshipped the Divinity* (Geography XVI:2:35).

The biblical text speaks little of the royal position of Moses during the first 40 years of his life, but one can guess implicitly in the following texts: *The man Moses too was very great in the land of Egypt, in the eyes of Pharaoh's servants and in the eyes of the people* (Exodus 11:3); *the daughter of Pharaoh picked him up and brought him up as her own son. Consequently Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. In fact, he was powerful in his words and deeds* (Acts 7:21-22); *By faith Moses, when grown up, denied to be called the son of the daughter of Pharaoh, choosing to be ill-treated with the people of God rather than to have the temporary enjoyment of sin, because he esteemed the reproach of the Christ as riches greater than the treasures of Egypt* (Hebrews 11:24-26). Renunciation of Moses to the treasures of Egypt makes sense only if he really got them thanks to his royal status. Something can be denied only if it has been owned. However, his

¹⁸⁹ Μωσῆς γάρ τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱερέων ἔχων τι μέρος τῆς {κάτω} καλουμένης χώρας.

leading position has been challenged by some Hebrews: *he (Moses) went out on the following day and here there were two Hebrew men struggling with each other. So he said to the one in the wrong: Why should you strike your companion? At this he said: Who appointed you as a prince and judge over us? Are you intending to kill me just as you killed the Egyptian?* (Exodus 2:13-14). As Moses could inflict death penalty to the Hebrews, that implies his royal authority.

Moses was co-regent for 40 years, from 1613 to 1573 BCE, for exactly the same duration as Apopi, then: *Now when the time of his 40th year was being fulfilled, it came into his heart to make an inspection of his brothers, the sons of Israel* (Acts 7:23). *Now it came about in those days, as Moses was becoming strong, that he went out to his brothers that he might look at the burdens they were bearing; and he caught sight of a certain Egyptian striking a certain Hebrew of his brothers. So he turned this way and that and saw there was nobody in sight. Then he struck the Egyptian down and hid him in the sand (...) Moses now got afraid and said: Surely the thing has become known! Subsequently Pharaoh got to hear of this thing, and he attempted to kill Moses; but Moses ran away from Pharaoh that he might dwell in the land of Madian; and he took a seat by a well* (Exodus 2:11, 15). About this new period of 40 years (1573-1533), since Moses lived 120 years (Deuteronomy 34:7) and spent 40 years in the wilderness (Deuteronomy 8:2), very few is known. One can assume that Moses was well known at that time under his birth name Apopi (or under his last enthronement name Aauserre). Thus, to avoid being recognized he had to hide his identity and has probably used his 'baptismal' name Musa unknown outside Egypt, Hebraized into Muša (for example, the name Amen-mes is rendered Aman-maša in the Akkadian El-Amarna letter n° 113). We note that after King Apopi, the last great Hyksos, the following Hyksos dynasty changed its capital, Edfu, north of Thebes (centre of the war of liberation against the Hyksos)¹⁹⁰, instead of Avaris and that all kings of this 16th dynasty beard only Egyptian names. *During this long period the king of Egypt died. The Israelites, groaning in their servitude, cried out for help and from the depths of their servitude their cry came up to God* (Exodus 2:23).

The last 40 years of Moses (1533-1493) are the best known: *God further said to Moses, You are to tell the Israelites (...) They will listen to your words, and you and the elders of Israel are to go to the king of Egypt and say to him: Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, has encountered us. So now please allow us to make a 3-days' journey into the desert and sacrifice to Yahweh our God. I am well aware that the king of Egypt will not let you go unless he is compelled by a mighty hand; he will not let you go until I have stretched out my arm and struck Egypt with all the wonders I intend to work there. I shall ensure that the Egyptians are so much impressed with this people that when you go, you will not go empty-handed. Every woman will ask her neighbour and the woman staying in her house for silver and golden jewellery, and clothing. In these you will dress your own sons and daughters, despoiling the Egyptians of them (...) So Moses took his wife and his son and, putting them on a donkey, started back for Egypt (...) [God said:] You will then say to Pharaoh: (Exodus 3:16-22; 4:20-22). The fact that Moses could easily go and talk to Pharaoh proved that he was an important figure. However, the context is complicated because Moses had to discuss with Egyptian officials (17th dynasty) and with Jewish officers (16th dynasty) totally subservient to Pharaoh: *So those who drove the people to work and their officers [16th Dynasty] went out and said to the people: Here is what Pharaoh has said: I am giving You no more straw. You yourselves go, get straw for yourselves wherever You may find it, because there is to be no reducing of Your services one bit. Consequently the people scattered about over all the land of Egypt to gather stubble for straw. And those who drove them to work kept urging them, saying: Finish Your works, each one his work, day for day, just as when straw was available. Later on the officers of the sons of Israel [16th Dynasty], whom Pharaoh's taskmasters [17th Dynasty] had set over them, were beaten, these saying: Why is it You did not finish Your prescribed task in making bricks as formerly, both yesterday and today? Consequently the officers of the sons of Israel [16th Dynasty] went in and began to cry**

¹⁹⁰ E.D. OREN - The Hyksos Enigma — Introductory Overview
in: The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives (Philadelphia 1997) p. 12

out to Pharaoh, saying: *Why do you deal this way with your servants? There is no straw given to your servants and yet they are saying to us: 'Make bricks!' and here your servants are beaten, whereas your own people are at fault. But he said: You are relaxing, You are relaxing! That is why You are saying: We want to go, we want to sacrifice to Jehovah. And now go, serve! Though no straw will be given to You, yet You are to give the fixed amount of bricks. Then the officers of the sons of Israel [16th Dynasty] saw themselves in an evil plight at the saying: You must not deduct from Your bricks one bit of anyone's daily rate. After that they encountered Moses [former king of the 15th Dynasty] and Aaron, who were standing there to meet them as they came out from Pharaoh. At once they said to them: May Jehovah look upon You and judge, since You have made us smell offensive before Pharaoh [17th Dynasty] and before his servants so as to put a sword in their hand to kill us (Exodus 5:10-21).*

Some Jewish officers of the 16th Dynasty refused to cooperate with Moses and even opposed him: *Now in the way that Jannes and Jambres resisted Moses, so these also go on resisting the truth, men completely corrupted in mind, disapproved as regards the faith* (2 Timothy 3:8). The precision: « disapproved as regards the faith » proves that they were Jewish rulers, not Egyptian priests. According to the Jewish literature of the first century, Jannes and his brother Jambres opposed Moses under the influence of Belial (Damascus Document 5:18-19). According to Manetho, Jannas ruled as king (16th Dynasty) after Apopi. The name Jeneses-adon (*y-n-s-s idn*) appears (opposite figure) on an inscription at Avaris¹⁹¹ indicating he was the son of Khyan, the Hyksos king (15th Dynasty) before Apopi.



The episode of the 10 plagues of Egypt is famous. A painstaking reconstruction¹⁹² shows that it lasted about 40 days, from month XII day 1 to month I day 14 (1533 BCE), the most lethal wounds (9th and 10th) being focused on the last 3 days, with total darkness, storm and death all the firstborn:

N°	Date	Julian	Plague	Reference
1	7/XII	March 18	Water to blood	Exodus 7:14-25
2	15/XII	March 26	Frogs	Exodus 8:1-7
3	18/XII	March 29	Lice	Exodus 8:16-19
4	20/XII	March 31	Flies	Exodus 8:24-29
5	23/XII	April 3	Murrain	Exodus 9:6
6	25/XII	April 5	Boils	Exodus 9:8-12
7	27/XII	April 7	Hail and Fire	Exodus 9:22-26
	28/XII	April 8	<i>Barley and flax smitten</i>	Exodus 9:31
8	2/I	April 12	Locust	Exodus 10:13-15
9	5/I	April 13	Darkness for 3 days	Exodus 10:21-23
	10/I	April 20	Passover lamb selected	Exodus 12:28
10	14/I	April 24	Passover. Death of the firstborn.	Exodus 12:29-36
	30/I	May 10	Death of Pharaoh	Exodus 14:7-28

According to the biblical text: *And at midnight Yahweh struck down all the first-born in Egypt from the first-born of Pharaoh, heir to his throne, to the first-born of the prisoner in the dungeon, and the first-born of all the livestock. Pharaoh and all his officials and all the Egyptians got up in the night, and there was great wailing in Egypt, for there was not a house without its dead. It was still dark when Pharaoh summoned Moses and Aaron and said: Up, leave my subjects, you and the Israelites! Go and worship Yahweh as you have asked (Exodus 12:29-31).* The remark « from the first-born of Pharaoh, heir to his throne » shows that this anonymous Pharaoh had (at least) a son who was Crown prince. The final sequence of events is precisely dated.

¹⁹¹ M. BIETAK - Avaris the Capital of the Hyksos
London 1996 Ed. British Museum Press pp. 64-67.

¹⁹² F. NOLEN JONES – The Chronology of the Old Testament
Texas 2005 Ed. Master Books p. 70.

Exodus began on 15/I 1533 BCE from Rameses a storage city (unidentified), which was the ancient Egyptian Babylon (Fustat, near Old Cairo) according to Josephus (Jewish Antiquities II:315). Israelites followed the path of the desert (from Memphis to the mines of Serabit el-Khadim) and not Philistines' way¹⁹³, named path of Horus by the Egyptians, along the Mediterranean coast to camp at Soukhot, then Etham before finally returning to Pihahiroth¹⁹⁴ (Exodus 13:17-14:2). This town was to be located north of the Red Sea as described by Josephus (Jewish Antiquities II:324-326) and could be the present jebel 'Ataqa (the site actually looks like a dead end). The pharaoh died during the crossing of the Red Sea¹⁹⁵ (Psalm 136:15), and the Israelites reached Elim (current Gharandel wadi) on the 15th of the following month (Exodus 16:1). The route between Memphis and Elim is round 600 kilometres, the distance can be covered in approximately 24 days (the armies of the past moved at an average speed to 25 km per day. Even the Roman armies, highly organized, did not exceed this speed)¹⁹⁶, which corresponds to 30 days indicated in the text (taking into account the duration of settlements)¹⁹⁷. Current crossing between the promontory called Ras 'Ataqa to the oasis Ayun Musa, on the opposite bank is about 10 km which requires a period of at least 2 hours to get from the bottom of a bank to another. The maximum depth is 15 meters in the middle of the path, which is consistent with the biblical description: *The Israelites went on dry ground right through the sea, with walls of water to right and left of them* (Exodus 14:22). To avoid miraculous explanation some biblical scholars propose a simple swamps crossing, but in this case the path would be either impractical for a large crowd or without danger for the Egyptian armies.

The departure from Egypt is dated 15 Nisan (Numbers 33:3). Since the arrival in the desert of Sin is dated the 15th of the following month (Exodus 16:1) and the final showdown is near Pihahiroth (Exodus 14:9) place halfway between the city called Rameses and the desert of Sin, the date marking the death of the Pharaoh can be fixed Nisan 30/1 Iyyar, on 9/10 May 1533 BCE. Flavius Josephus gives chronological details on this important event: *a thick darkness, without the least light, spread itself over the Egyptians, whereby their sight being obstructed, and their breathing hindered by the thickness of the air, they died miserably, and under a terror lest they should be swallowed up by the dark cloud. Besides this, when the darkness, after 3 days and as many nights, was dissipated, (...) But when God had signified, that with one plague he would compel the Egyptians to let Hebrews go, he commanded Moses to tell the people that they should have a sacrifice ready, and they should prepare themselves on the 10th day of the month Xanthicus, against the 14th, (which month is called by the Egyptians Pharmouthi, Nisan by the Hebrews; but the Macedonians call it Xanthicus,) and that he should carry the Hebrews with all they had (...) the whole Egyptian army was within it, the sea flowed to its own place, and came down with a torrent raised by storms of wind, and encompassed the Egyptians. Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning, with flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them. Nor was there any thing which used to be sent by God upon men, as indications of his wrath, which did not happen at this time, for a dark and dismal night oppressed them. And thus did all these men perish, so that there was not one man left to be a messenger of this calamity to the rest of the Egyptians* (Jewish Antiquities II:308-311, 343-344). The equivalence: 1st Pharmouthi (IV Peret 1) = 1st Nisan, is possible only around 1530 BCE. The 'dark and dismal night' that occurred on April 14 was a total solar eclipse.

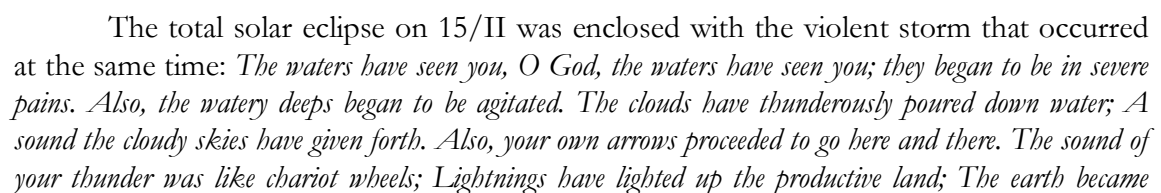
¹⁹³ It seems that if the Israelites had taken the path of Horus in the open, they could easily return to Egypt in seeing the army of Pharaoh pursuing them.

¹⁹⁴ Pihahiroth name could come from old Canaanite *pi hiritu* "mouth of the channel."

¹⁹⁵ It is in fact the old Sea of Reeds north of the Red Sea because the Greek text (Acts 7:36, Hebrews 11:29) always translates the Hebrew words *yam-suph* "Sea of Reeds" by *erythra thalassa* "Red Sea".

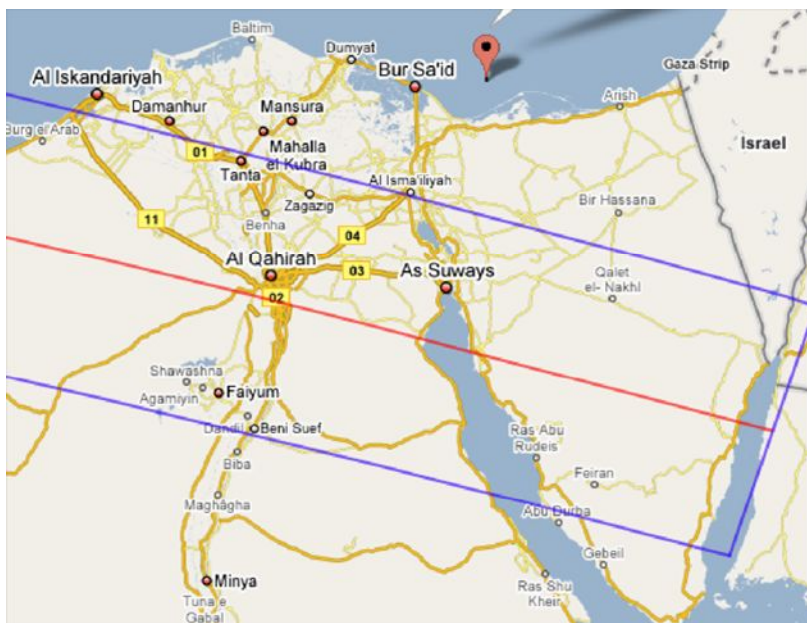
¹⁹⁶ E. LUTTWAK – La grande stratégie de l'Empire romain
Paris 2009 Éd. Economica pp. 137.

¹⁹⁷ Departure from Ramses (near Memphis) on Nisan 15, arrival at Succoth on 21, departure on 23, arrival at Etham on 27, departure on 29, arrival at Pihahiroth on 30, departure on 1 next month, arrival at Mara on 8 and departure on 13, arrived at Elim on 15.



agitated and began to rock. Through the sea your way was, and your path was through many waters; And your very footprints have not come to be known. You have led your people just like a flock, by the hand of Moses and Aaron (Psalms 77:17-20). The text of Ezekiel mentions the tragic end of a pharaoh and associates it with a cloudy sky and a solar eclipse: *Son of man, lift up a dirge concerning Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and you must say to him: As a maned young lion of nations you have been silenced. And you have been like the marine monster in the seas [crocodile], and you kept gushing in your rivers and kept muddying the waters with your feet and fouling their rivers (...) And when you get extinguished I will cover [the] heavens and darken their stars. As for [the] sun, with clouds I shall cover it, and [the] moon itself will not let its light shine. All the luminaries of light in the heavens — I shall darken them on your account, and I will put darkness upon your land* (Ezekiel 32:2, 7-8). This text targets the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the only one known for ending tragically (Psalms 136:15), because the terms "crocodile dragon/ marine monster" always refer to this ruler (Isaiah 51:9-10) as an avatar of the sliding snake, Leviathan (Isaiah 27:1, Ezekiel 29:2-5, Psalms 74:13-14) and not Apries, the Pharaoh of that time who, him, is named (Jeremiah 44:30). This process of assimilation between two rulers from different eras is found again with the king of Tyre who was assimilate to the original serpent in Eden (Ezekiel 28:12-14). The expression: *All the luminaries of light in the heavens — I shall darken them on your account, and I will put darkness upon your land* has a symbolic meaning, but could be understood only if it had also a literal meaning. The Pharaoh was considered a living god by the Egyptians, the son of Ra the sun god, thus the solar eclipse as the moonless night had to mark them.

According to astronomy, the only total solar eclipse in this region during this period 1600-1500¹⁹⁸ was the one dated May 10, 1533 BCE¹⁹⁹, magnitude 1.08, it covered a strip of 250 km and was visible in the North of Egypt over several cities like Heliopolis (dedicated to sun worship), Memphis and Heracleopolis, to 4:40 p.m. and lasted more than 6 minutes (the place called Pihahiroth "mouth of the canal" should be near As Suways).



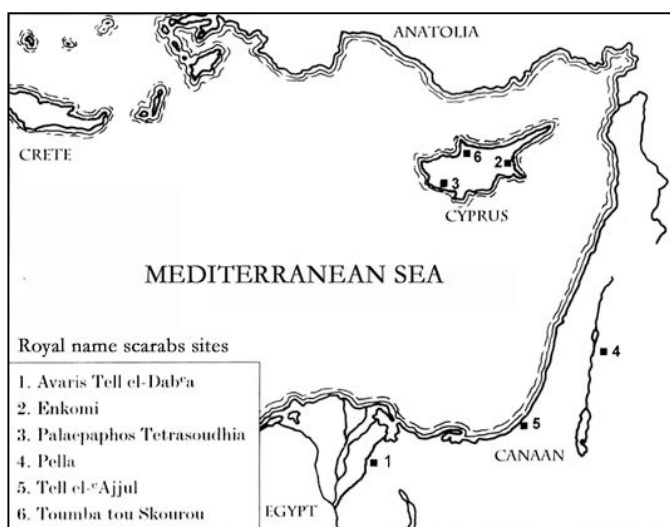
Chronological information from the biblical text (death of Pharaoh dated May 10, 1533 BCE), from Josephus (14 Nisan = 14 Pharmouthi around 1530 BCE), from the Rhind papyrus (Avaris evacuated during I Shemu 1533 BCE) and from astronomy (total solar eclipse on May 10, 1533 BCE) coincide remarkably well:

¹⁹⁸ <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEcat5/SE-1599-1500.html>

¹⁹⁹ <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch/SEsearchmap.php?Ecl=-15320510>

Israelite calendar	Julian (1533 BCE)	Egyptian calendar	Event
23 Adar (23/XII)	3 April (<i>spring equinox</i>)	III Peret 26 (26 <i>Phamenoth</i>)	
1 Nisan (1/I)	11 April	IV Peret 4 (4 <i>Pharmouthi</i>)	
14 Nisan (14/I)	24 April (<i>full moon</i>)	IV Peret 17 (17 <i>Pharmouthi</i>)	Death of Ahmose Sapaïr
15 Nisan (15/I)	25 April	IV Peret 18 (18 <i>Pharmouthi</i>)	Avaris evacuated, then sacked
30 Nisan (30/I)	10 May (<i>total solar eclipse</i>)	I Shemu 3 (3 <i>Pakhons</i>)	Death of Seqenenre Taa
29 Iyyar (29/II)	7 June	II Shemu 1 (1 <i>Payni</i>)	[Kamose] arrived in Heliopolis
	2 October	I Akhet 23 (23 <i>Thot</i>)	Tjaru sacked by Kamose

Events following the exodus from Egypt are few. According to the biblical text, due to a lack of faith, entry into Canaan, which would start from year 2 (Numbers 1:1) was delayed 40 years (Numbers 14:29-34). Some Israelites try entering the land of Canaan despite the divine refusal, but they were defeated by Amalekites in the south of Palestine (Numbers 14:34-45), probably in the Hyksos area near Sharuhén (Tell el-'Ajjul).



There is no consensus whatever as to the function(s) of scarab seals, however it seems reasonable to assume that the demonstrable cultural intimacy between southern Levantine city-states such as Pella or Sharuhén and the Hyksos Kingdom grew on the back of a flourishing economic relationship²⁰⁰.

Year				[A]	[B]	[C]							
-1534	8	V	XII	11		79	[A] Pharaoh [Seqenenre]						
	9	VI	I			80	[B] Crown Prince [Ahmose Sapaïr]						
	10	VII	II				[C] Moses was 80 years old when he came into Egypt. He was a former pharaoh 40 years earlier.						
	11	VIII	III										
	12	IX	IV										
-1533	1	X	V			0	Beginning of the 10 plagues						
	2	XI	VI										
	3	XII	VII										
	4	I	VIII										
	5	II	IX	***	(1)	1	[B] Death of the Crown Prince (who was a first-born)						
	6	III	X	(1)			[A] Death of the Pharaoh						
	7	IV	XI				[B] Prince of Thebes [Kamose]						
	8	V	XII										
	9	VI	I	(2)				[C] Year 1 of the Exodus (departure to Paletine)					
	10	VII	II										
	11	VIII	III										
	12	IX	IV										
	-1532	1	X						V			2	[C] Year 2 of the Exodus
		2	XI						VI				
		3	XII		VII								
4		I	VIII										
5		II	IX	(2)	***	Israelites defeated by Amalekites in the south of Palestine. Exodus for 40 years in Sinai (Egypt)							
6		III	X										
7		IV	XI										
8		V	XII										
9		VI	I										
10		VII	II				(3)						

²⁰⁰ S.J. BOURKE, K.O. ERIKSSON – Pella in Jordan, Royal Name Scarabs and the Hyksos Empire in: *Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak Vol. II* (2006) pp. 339-348.

IS THE TEMPEST STELE A TESTIMONY OF THE 'TEN PLAGUES' ?

Most Egyptologists refuse to bring the events described in the Tempest Stele with those marking the beginning of Exodus for the following reasons:

- This disaster would be a "metaphorical storm"²⁰¹ which purpose may be esoteric (?). However, if the purpose of the metaphor was to glorify the restorative action of Pharaoh, it is because the disaster was real.
- This catastrophe would describe the consequences of Santorini's eruption (other volcanic eruptions have been considered²⁰²). However, a detailed analysis puts faulty this "natural" explanation, at least on two points: 1) the description does not match the impact of a volcanic eruption²⁰³ and 2) the timing between -1645 and -1627 estimated by dendrochronology²⁰⁴, is incompatible with the reign of Ahmose: *One therefore is easily led to conclude, on the basis of the chronology of Crete, a date around 1550-1530 BCE (...) the dating by C14 and dendrochronology clearly invite to hold a date one century higher. They (dates) first appeared to converge towards the period 1650-1643, especially because the presence of volcanic ash in Greenland may arise from Thera, trapped in ice sheets, suggesting an identical date. But the latest and most relevant dating are now tilt the balance towards the years 1625-1600, and despite the remaining uncertainties, many believe it is time to draw the consequences of this situation*²⁰⁵.

The catastrophe described in the Tempest Stele crosses the dramatic episode of the 'Ten plagues' of Egypt on two points: 1) same chronology and 2) same events.

Tempest Stele	The "Ten plagues"
<i>[Then] the gods [made] the sky come in a storm of rain, with dark[ness] in the western region and the sky beclouded without [stop, loud]er than [the sound of] the subjects, strong[er than ..., howling(?)] on the hills more than the sound of the cavern in Elephantine. Then every house and every habitation they reached [perished and those in them died, their corpses] floating on the water like skiffs of papyrus, (even) in the doorway and the private apartments (of the palace), for a period of up to [...] days, while no torch could give light over the Two Lands.</i>	Exodus 9:23-24: <i>Jehovah gave thunders and hail, and fire would run down to the earth, and Jehovah kept making it rain down hail upon the land of Egypt. Thus there came hail, and fire quivering in among the hail.</i> Exodus 10:22-23: <i>Moses stretched his hand out toward the heavens, and a gloomy darkness began to occur in all the land of Egypt for 3 days. They did not see one another, and none of them got up from his own place 3 days; but for all the sons of Israel there proved to be light in their dwellings.</i>
<i>Then His Incarnation said: How much greater is this than the impressive manifestation of the great god, than the plans of the gods!</i>	Exodus 8:19: <i>Hence the magic-practicing priests said to Pharaoh: It is the finger of God!</i>
<i>Then every house and every habitation they reached [perished and those in them died, their corpses] floating on the water like skiffs of papyrus, (even) in the doorway and the private apartments (of the palace)</i>	Exodus 12:33: <i>And the Egyptians began to urge the people in order to send them away quickly out of the land, "because," they said: we are all as good as dead!</i>

²⁰¹ E. JAMBON – Entre crues et tempêtes. Les Égyptiens face aux caprices de la nature
in: *Dossiers d'Archéologie* Hors série n°16 (mars 2009) 1 pp. 23-24.

²⁰² M.H. WIENER – Chronology Going Forward (with a Query about 1525/4 B.C.)
in: *Timelines Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* Vol. III (2006) pp. 317-325.

²⁰³ M. WIENER, J.P. ALLEN - Separate Lives: The Ahmose Tempest Stela and the Thera Eruption
in: *Near Eastern Studies* 57 (1998) 1 pp. 1-28.

²⁰⁴ S.W. MANNING - A Test of Time
Oxford 1999 Ed. Oxbow Books pp. 335,336.

M. BIETAK - Science Versus Archaeology C.U. HAMMER - Thera Eruption Date 1645 BC confirmed by New Ice Core Data?
in: *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Wien 2003 pp. 23-31, 87-94.

²⁰⁵ R. TREUIL, P. DARCQUE, J.-C. POURSAT, G. TOUCHAIS - Les Civilisations égéennes du Néolithique et de l'Âge du Bronze
Paris 2008 Éd. Presses universitaires de France p. 296.

<i>Then His Incarnation commanded to make firm the temples that had fallen to ruin in this entire land: to make functional the monuments of the gods (...) to cause the processional images that were fallen to the ground to enter their shrines.</i>	<i>Exodus 12:12: I must pass through the land of Egypt on this night and strike every firstborn in the land of Egypt, from man to beast; and on all the gods of Egypt I shall execute judgments (god statues thrown down, according to 1Samuel 5:3)</i>
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Without the biblical explanation the ‘tempest of Ahmose’ remains an enigma. Admonitions of Ipuwer describe the same situation.

Admonitions of Ipuwer	The "Ten plagues"
Water to blood	
<i>Admonitions 2:6,10: pestilence is throughout the land, blood is everywhere (...) O, yet the [Nile] river is blood and one drinks from it; one pushes people aside, thirsting for water.</i>	<i>Exodus 7:20-21: all the water that was in the [Nile] River was turned into blood. And the fish that were in the [Nile] River died, and the [Nile] River began to stink; and the Egyptians were unable to drink water from the [Nile] River.</i>
Darkness	
<i>Admonitions 9:11,14; 10:1: Wretches [...] them(?); day does not dawn on it. Destroyed (...) be]hind a wall(?) in an office, and rooms containing falcons and rams(?) [... till] dawn. It is the commoner who will be vigilant; day dawns on him.</i>	<i>Exodus 10:22-23: A gloomy darkness began to occur in all the land of Egypt for 3 days. They did not see one another, and none of them got up from his own place 3 days; but for all the sons of Israel there proved to be light in their dwellings.</i>
Hail and fire	
<i>Admonitions 2:10-11: O, yet porches, pillars and partition walls(?) are burnt, (but) the facade(?) of the King's Estate (l.p.h.) is enduring and firm.</i>	<i>Exodus 9:23-24: Jehovah gave thunders and hail, and fire would run down to the earth, and Jehovah kept making it rain down hail upon the land of Egypt. Thus there came hail, and fire quivering in among the hail.</i>
Cattle perished	
<i>Admonitions 5:6: O, yet all herds, their hearts weep; cattle mourn because of the state of the land.</i>	<i>Exodus 9:3: Jehovah's hand is coming upon your livestock that is in the field. On the horses, the asses, the camels, the herd and the flock there will be a very heavy pestilence.</i>
Vegetation perished	
<i>Admonitions 4:14; 6:2-4: O, yet [t]rees are swept away, plantations laid bare (...) O, yet one eats(?) plants and one drinks down water. No meal or bird-plants can be found; seed is taken from the pig's mouth. There is no bright face because of *bowing down(?) before hunger. O, yet barley has perished everywhere (...) everyone says. 'There is nothing!' — the storehouse is razed.</i>	<i>Exodus 9:25; 10:15: The hail struck everything that was in the field, from man to beast, and all sorts of vegetation of the field; and it shattered all sorts of trees of the field (...) [the locusts] went on eating up all the vegetation of the land and all the fruit of the trees that the hail had left; and there was left nothing green on the trees or on the vegetation of the field in all the land of Egypt.</i>
Death of the firstborn	
<i>Admonitions 2:6-7; 3:13-14; 5:6-7: there is no *lack(?) of death; the (mummy)-binding speaks without approaching it. O, yet the many dead are buried in the river; the flood is a grave, while the tomb has become a flood (...) What may we do about it, since it has come to perishing? O, yet laughter has perished [and is no] longer done. It is</i>	<i>Exodus 12:29-30: who was in the prison And it came about that at midnight Jehovah struck every firstborn in the land of Egypt, from the firstborn of Pharaoh sitting on his throne to the firstborn of the captive hole, and every firstborn of beast. Then Pharaoh got up at night, he and all his servants and all [other] Egyptians; and there began arising a</i>

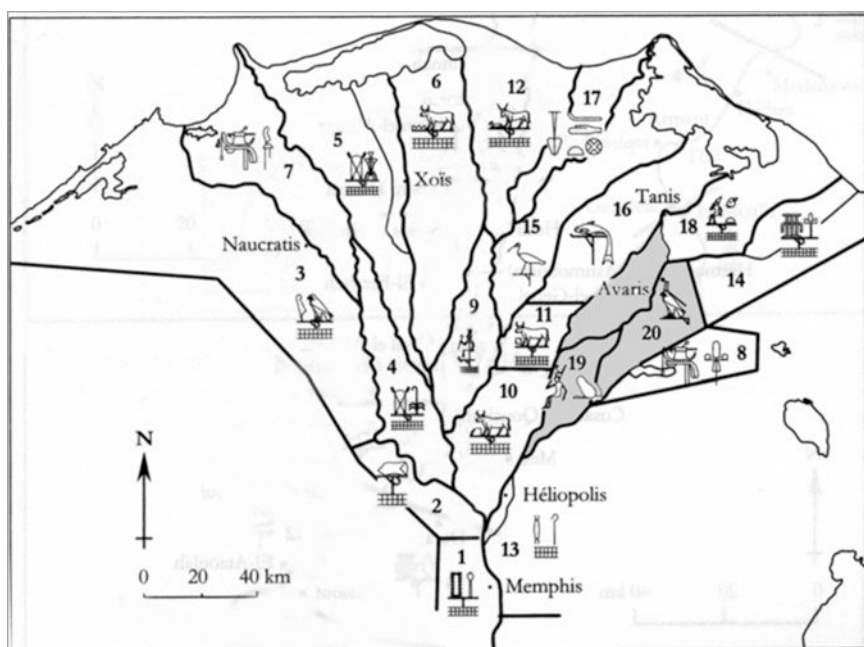
<i>mourning which is throughout the land mixed with lamentation (...) O, yet the children of officials are thrown against walls; children of prayer are placed on high ground. Khnum mourns because of his weariness. O, yet terror slays.</i>	<i>great outcry among the Egyptians, because there was not a house where there was not one dead.</i>
Egyptians stripped	
<i>Admonitions 2:4-5; 3:1-3: O, yet the poor have become the owners of riches; he who could not make for himself sandals is the owner of wealth (...) the outside bow-people have come to Egypt. O, yet [Asiatics] reach [Egypt] and there are no people anywhere. O, yet gold, lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise, garnet, amethyst, diorite(?), our [fine stones(?)] have been hung on the neck(s) of maidservants; riches are throughout the land, (but) ladies of the house say: 'Would that we had something we might eat!'</i>	<i>Exodus 11:2; 12:35-36: Speak, now, in the ears of the people, that they should ask every man of his companion and every woman of her companion articles of silver and articles of gold (...) the sons of Israel did according to the word of Moses in that they went asking from the Egyptians articles of silver and articles of gold and mantles. And Jehovah gave the people favor in the eyes of the Egyptians, so that these granted them what was asked [in order to get some food?]; and they stripped the Egyptians.</i>
Magic is ineffective	
<i>Admonitions 6:6-7: O, yet the sacred forehall, its writings have been removed; the place of secrets and the sanctuary(?) have been stripped bare. O, yet magic is stripped bare; omens(?) and predictions(?) are made dangerous because of their being recalled by people.</i>	<i>Exodus 8:18-19: the magic-practicing priests tried to do the same by their secret arts, in order to bring forth gnats, but they were unable (...) the magic-practicing priests said to Pharaoh: It is the finger of God!</i>

The beginning of the Astarte papyrus (dated 1415 BCE, very lacunary) relates a amazing struggle called "The gods against the sea"²⁰⁶, it reads: *Year 5, III Peret 19, may he live King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Amenhotep II ...] he has done for the Ennead in order to combat the sea [... I want to celebrate] your exploits, exalting [your power] telling what you did whereas I was just a child [...] the rebels were made [... two mountains] to trample your enemies [...] as they trampled reeds [...] his head while his [two horns ...] his enemies and opponents. Regard to [...] and the earth calmed down [...] So every man embraced [his neighbor ...] after [seven] days and the sky [...] the tribute of the sea [...] the sea as sovereign [...] the sky. Come near them to [the moment ... Asiatics] Astarte [...] the daughter of Ptah [... come] fight with him [...] he calmed down. He will not seek a quarrel. Seth sat down [...] and the sea gave up [...] with the sky [...].* That story is not clear, but it seems linked to the fall of Avaris.

The dramatic events related to the departure of the Hebrews in Palestine left a trace in Egyptian documents. A disaster of such a magnitude has been logically marking the national memory. The translation of the Jewish Bible into Greek, the Septuagint (280 BCE), welcomed by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, however provoked a hostile reaction of the Egyptian priests, as the story of the Exodus, now available to Greek speaking Egyptians, gave a poor image of the ancient Egyptian priesthood. Manetho, a Hellenized Egyptian priest, at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, wrote in Greek from Egyptian sources a history of Egypt under the title *Aegyptiaca*. In this story, the story of the Hyksos reappears but overhauled since this time they are described as being cruel princes, burning and slaughtering, oppressing Egypt and finally expelled because of their leprosy. It is in such a controversial context that the ancient history of the Hyksos resurfaced, which explains the distorted view that give several Egyptian inscriptions of this period (erected in the area around Avaris, another notable coincidence).

²⁰⁶ P. COLLOMBERT, L. COULON - Les dieux contre la mer
in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 100 (2000) p.207.

The first inscription was found in El-Arish²⁰⁷, and as noted by Griffith²⁰⁸, this long text refers to the ancient sanctuary of Pi-Soped (which was the capital of the 20th nome during the Ptolemaic period) and described in mythological terms the successive reigns of the gods Ra, Tefnut, Geb and Chou (description influenced by Greek conception of the four elements, Fire being associated with Ra, Tefnut with the Water, Geb with the Earth and Chou with the Air). Despite this theological aspect²⁰⁹, Goyon²¹⁰, the author of a complete translation of this text, has rightly noted: *The story of the attack is based on the memories of invasions from the east and, in particular, the Hyksos invasion.* The inhabitants of pi-Soped (*pr-Spdm*) were aware of being the bulwark of Egypt, or the other major city of the 20th nome was Gesem²¹¹ (*gsm* is vocalized *gosem* in Coptic and *gošen* in Hebrew) which appears in "Land of Gesem" of the Septuagint. The word *gasmou*, which *gesem* is derived has the meaning of "storm" in Egyptian²¹² (the word *gsm* has the same meaning in Ugaritic and Hebrew). The terms "land of Goshen", "land of Rameses" and "campaign of Tanis" mean essentially the same region (Genesis 45:10; 47:11, Psalms 78:12,43), or the land of the "Storm" belonging to the "Son of the Sun (Pharaoh)" in the "meadow of Djaou [Tanis]"²¹³.



According to the Pithom stele²¹⁴, found in the same region (Tell Maskhuta) and dated the year 22 of Ptolemy II Philadelphus [in 263 BCE], one reads²¹⁵: *The king went to the province of Syria. When he reached Palestine, he found all the gods of Egypt and brought them back to*

²⁰⁷ The naos 2248 of Ismailia's Museum.

²⁰⁸ F.L. GRIFFITH - The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyeh and Miscellaneous Work in Lower Egypt during the Years 1887-1888 London 1890 Ed. Egypt Exploration Fund pp. 70-74.

²⁰⁹ Empedocles of Agrigento (495-435?) stated, for example: *At one point, the One formed from the Multiple, at another time, it was divided and from the One left the Multiple - Fire, Water and Earth and the powerful height of the Air.*

²¹⁰ G. GOYON - Travaux de Chou et les tribulations de Geb d'après le naos 2248 d'Ismailia in: *Kémi* tome 6 (1936) pp. 1-42.

²¹¹ M. DESSOUDÉIX - Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 761,769-771.

²¹² J.E. HOCH - Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period Princeton 1994 Ed. Princeton University Press p.354.

²¹³ D. VALBELLE - Tanis in: Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité sous la direction de Jean Leclant 2005 Éd. PUF p. 2123.

²¹⁴ E. NAVILLE - The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of Exodus London 1903 Ed. Egypt Exploration Fund pp. 1-40.

²¹⁵ C. THIERS - Ptolémée Philadelphe et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou. Nouvelle édition de la « stèle de Pithom » in: *Orientalia mopseliensia* 17 (2007) pp. 39-40, 45-49, 52-55.

Egypt (...) Egypt is in his fist and all foreign countries are under his soles (...) she [her Majesty] realized a large wall in the middle of the eastern desert, of a wonderful length, impassable to repel enemies — misfortune from the gods — when they entered Egypt.

Due to their location, one can understand that the Egyptian priests in this region have maintained a bad memory of the Hyksos, the ancestors of the Jews from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Although the inscription of the naos in Pi-Soped [the Yat-Nebeš of decans²¹⁶, the present Saft al-Henna) is very damaged, however one can read:

[But then] the majesty of Chu was the perfect king of heaven, earth, hell, water, wind, primordial waters, mountains and sea, [making] all laws on the throne of his father Ra-Harakhbe became just of voice. But then the majesty of Chu was in his home [...] in Memphis. His Majesty spoke to the great Ennead of the gods which was to follow him: Let's walk to [...] in the east, to my residence of Yat-Nebeš (...) Thus the majesty of Chu rose Yat-Nebeš solid like the sky and all her castles as akhit. He came [...] as King of the Gods in Yat-Nebeš. He completed the throne of Harakhbe. But then children of Apopis, the rebels who are in the "dry place" and in the desert, they came by paths of Yat-Nebeš, swooping down on Egypt in the dusk [...] of Egypt. They conquered but to destroy. They ransacked every place on the water, on land, they became [abandoned]? [...] by all the inhabitants because of this. These rebels, so they came from the East Mountains on all Yat-Nebeš paths. Behold the majesty of Chu placed the gods following Ra and gods following [Chu] on all hillocks are in the territory of Yat-Nebeš. It was hillocks of the time of Ra, the time when the Majesty of Ra was in Yat-Nebeš [...] This is the great walls of Egypt repelling rebels when Apopis proceeds to attack (?) Egypt. The gods of these hillocks are the bulwark of this earth, they are the four pillars of heaven, the guard (?) [...] of eternal horizon, the throne of Chu in Yat-Nebeš. Those who reside in the hillocks of Yat-Nebeš, they are batters of the earth [...] store. They are Souls of the East to [...] of Ra Harakhbe. They are the supporters of Ra in heaven and in the other world [...] of sky. They are the masters of the eastern mountain, defending Ra against Apopis, knowing all [...] in the territory of Yat-Nebeš, with the gods who live in Yat-Desui in Yat-Nebeš it is the lake [...] east to Yat-Nebeš, who left his Majesty of Ra, to fight against Apopis' fellow [...] in Yat-Nebeš, east of Yat-Nebeš, it is the lake [...] in Yat-Nebeš (...) with Chu? taking for him the whole earth. No one was resisting his presence. No other god was in the mouth of his troops [...] furious face with imperious look. He had his flag with the assistance of the wicked ones. Evil fell on this earth. There was a great revolution in the residence. Rebels carried disorder to the residents of the house of Chu. Here that Geb saw his mother who loved him very much. His heart (Geb's) was negligent after her. Earth [...] for his in great affliction. The Majesty of Chu flew to heaven with her companions. Tefnut remained in the place of her coronation in Memphis. She went to the royal house of Chu to noon. The great Ennead of gods stood on the world (?) of eternity that is the path of her father Harakhbe. So the majesty of [...] Here he finds him in this place called Pi-Kharoti [p-ḥ3-3-r-t-ḳ] and here he took him by force. It was a great revolution in the residence. It was Chu rising to heaven. There was no way out of the palace for a period of 9 days, and during these 9 days of revolution it was a storm as neither men nor gods saw the face of their neighbor. The Majesty of Geb appeared crowned on the throne of his father Chu, and all the inhabitants of the residence kissed the ground before him. After 75 days Geb went into the Delta and Chu flew to heaven, above the ground, in front of his eldest son through the mountains [of the East]. He did not go to On [Heliopolis] with as companions of thieves of scepter, called the "hidden ones", who lived on what the gods abominate (...) When the Majesty of Ra-Harakhbe fighting with the enemies in this water of Yat-Desui — rebels showed no courage against His Majesty — His Majesty made contact with Yat-Desui, he took the form of a crocodile (...) As His Majesty was at home in Ity-Tawi in the land of benu plants. His Majesty had sent an expedition to bring her foreigners and Asiatics ('3mn) from their lands. Then the Majesty of Geb says to the great Ennead of the gods who were behind her: What did my father Chu from the beginning of his reign on the throne of his father Atum? The Ennead said to the Majesty of Geb. Since your father Chu was on the throne of his father Atum, he defeated all the rebels of his father Atum by killing children of Apopis and he made all the enemies of his

²¹⁶ A.S. VON BOMHARD –The Egyptian Calendar
in: *Egyptology in the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* Vol. 2 (2003) p. 142.

father Ra see reason and after the air has got cooler, the lands were dried, the gods and humans were formed the following of Atum lord of southern On [Heliopolis], he irrigated cities, founding nomes, and pitched the walls of Egypt, building temples in the land of the South and North.

Several clues make it possible to locate the time of the disaster during the reigns of Kamose or Seqenenre. Indeed, Ity-Tawi²¹⁷ was the residence of Pharaohs of the 12th dynasty (capital of the 18th dynasty was in Thebes) and building activity at Karnak [the On or southern Heliopolis], described at the end, only picked up again from Ahmose²¹⁸, the first Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty. The Pharaoh of the story is designated by the term "Majesty of Ra (or Chu)" and his opponent is portrayed as the dragon Apopis. Coincidence: the name Seqenenre means "He who Ra made brave" and the name of the king Apopi (written *i-p-p*) is close to that of the evil god Apopis (written '*p-p*') associated with Seth. Although the story is mythological, the protagonists stand well: on one side the pharaoh and the gods of Egypt, on the other rebels from the mountains of the East assimilated to foreigners and to Asiatics, portrayed as enemies, villains, companions or children of Apopis and thieves of sceptre that the gods abominate. Outline of conflict overlap with those of the biblical text:

Egyptian account (naos 2248)	Biblical account
Residence in Memphis	
<i>The majesty of Chu was in his home [...] in Memphis.</i>	<i>Pharaoh had to stay near Ramses (Exodus 12:31-37) which was Fostat, near Memphis, according to Flavius Josephus (Jewish Antiquities II:315).</i>
Beginning of disaster	
<i>Swooping down on Egypt in the dusk [...] Earth [...] for his in great affliction [...] There was a great revolution in the residence.</i>	<i>Death of firstborn began at midnight and there was a great outcry among the Egyptians (Exodus 12:29-30).</i>
Death of firstborn	
<i>Chu flew to heaven, above the ground, in front of his eldest son (who therefore died prior his father).</i>	<i>The firstborn of Pharaoh died prior his father (Exodus 11:5).</i>
Death of Pharaoh	
<i>The Majesty of Ra-Harakhte fighting with the enemies in this water of Yat-Desui [...] Here he finds him in this place called Pi-Kharoti and here he took him by force.</i>	<i>Death of Pharaoh at Pi-Hahiroth (Exodus 14:9) shook off in the Red Sea (Psalms 136:15) when he was fighting with the Israelites (Exodus 14:23).</i>
Great darkness	
<i>During these 9 days of revolution it was a storm as neither men nor gods saw the face of their neighbour.</i>	<i>A gloomy darkness began to occur in all the land of Egypt for 3 days. They did not see one another, and none of them got up from his own place 3 days (Exodus 10:21-23).</i>
Pharaoh is a crocodile	
<i>His Majesty made contact with Yat-Desui, he took the form of a crocodile.</i>	<i>Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great sea monster lying stretched out in the midst of his Nile canals (...) I will put hooks in your jaws (Ezekiel 29:3-4).</i>

The place called Pi-Haroti (𓂏𓂣𓂰𓂣) in Egyptian, Pi-Hahiroth in Hebrew and [pi]-Heiroth in the Septuagint, "mouth of Heiroth" (Numbers 33:7-8), does not appear in any other Egyptian document.

²¹⁷ Capital near Lisht (necropolis of the first two kings of the 12th Dynasty).

²¹⁸ L. GABOLDE – Thèbes

in: Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité sous la direction de Jean Leclant 2005 Éd. PUF p. 2168.

WHERE DID THE HYKSOS GO ?

Little is known about the end of Hyksos rule in Egypt, particularly at Avaris. In his tomb at Elkab, Ahmose son of Ibana mentions only that "one captured Avaris". Flavius Josephus, who may have had some direct access to Egyptian traditions, wrote that forcing a surrender of Avaris by blockading did not work, and that the Egyptians gave up in despair. They would have concluded a treaty by which all the "shepherds" were to leave Egypt, taking their possessions and households on a desert trip to Syria. Following Josephus, historians have not only concluded that the Hyksos were driven out and moved to Palestine, but also that that they had come from there. Egyptologists have seldom appreciated the impact that the Hyksos rule must have made on Egypt. They have largely taken over the ancient Egyptian doctrine that it had been an unpleasant interlude and produced no more than a Theban counter-reaction that brought on the New Kingdom. However, it is only realistic to assume that the presence of a considerable number of Western Asiatic people in north-eastern Egypt c. 1820-1530 BC helped to shape the succeeding New Kingdom culture. Could this population have disappeared, and could it be that 300 years of cultural interaction in the Delta were brought to a halt the moment that Avaris was taken and the Hyksos kingdom destroyed? This scenario is highly unlikely.

According to archaeological sources, Avaris was abandoned, and archaeological evidence has shown no signs of destruction besides the looting of tombs. This would be entirely in keeping with Josephus story. In several areas, however, settler activity continued into the 18th Dynasty. However, according to M. Bietak²¹⁹: *Summing up, we have no evidence that the Western Asiatic population who carried the Hyksos rule in Egypt was expelled to the Levant, except for the Manethonian/Josephus tradition. While one cannot rule out that elite groups moved to southern Canaan at the end of the Hyksos Period, especially to Sharuben, there is mounting evidence to suggest that a large part of this population stayed in Egypt and served their new overlords in various capacities. These people contributed in many ways to New Kingdom culture and society and seem to have built a lasting local tradition in the eastern Delta, kept alive by the cultic installations of Canaanite gods, particularly Seth of Avaris, down to Ramesside times.* However, the conclusion of Bietak: *there is mounting evidence to suggest that a large part of this population stayed in Egypt and served their new overlords in various capacities,* is wrong because of the following reasons:

- Historical reasons. We have a lot evidence that the Western Asiatic population who carried the Hyksos rule in Egypt was expelled to the Levant, according to: 1) Hecataeus of Abdera, a Greek historian and sceptic philosopher (≈ 300 BCE), 2) [Manetho, an Egyptian priest \(≈ 280 BCE\)](#), 3) Demetrius the Chronograph, a Jewish historian (≈ 220 BCE), 4) Artapanus, a Hellenistic Jewish historian (≈ 200 BCE), 5) Eupolemus Hellenistic Jewish historian (≈ 160 BCE), 6) Lysimachus of Alexandria, an Egyptian grammarian (≈ 100 BCE), 7) Diodorus of Sicily, a Greek historian (≈ 50 BCE), 8) Strabo, a Greek geographer, philosopher and historian (≈ 20 CE), 9) [Chaeremon of Alexandria, a Stoic philosopher, historian, and grammarian. He was superintendent of the portion of the Alexandrian library that was kept in the Temple of Serapis, and as custodian and expounder of the sacred books he belonged to the higher ranks of the Egyptian priesthood \(≈ 50 CE\).](#) 10) Tacitus, a senator and a historian of the Roman Empire (≈ 100 CE), 11) Tatian an Assyrian early Christian writer (≈ 160-170 CE), 12) Eusebius, a Roman historian, exegete and Christian polemicist (≈ 300 CE), 13) Moses of Khoren, a prominent Armenian historian (370-486 CE). According to Manetho: *He (Salitis) rebuilt (Avaris), and made very strong by the walls he built about it, and by a most numerous*

²¹⁹ M. BIETAK – From Where Came the Hyksos and Where did they go?
in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 164-171.

garrison of 240,000 armed men whom he put into it to keep it. Thither Salatis came in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to terrify foreigners (...) [Ahmose] the son of [Sequenre] made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, with 480,000 men to lie rotund about them, but that, upon his despair of taking the place by that siege, they came to a composition with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without any harm to be done to them, whithersoever they would; and that, after this composition was made, they went away with their whole families and effects, not fewer in number than 240,000 [soldiers], and took their journey from Egypt, through the wilderness, for Syria; but that as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who had then the dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, and that large enough to contain this great number of men, and called it Jerusalem (Against Apion I:78, 88-90). According to the biblical account: Yahweh spoke to Moses, in the desert of Sinai, in the Tent of Meeting, on the first day of the second month, in the second year after the exodus from Egypt, and said: Take a census of the whole community of Israelites by clans and families, taking a count of the names of all the males, head by head. All the Israelites of 20 years and over, fit to bear arms, were counted by families. Altogether, the total came to 603,550 (Numbers 1:1-2, 45-46).

- Logical reasons. Port of Avaris contained 300 ships, that proves that this city would contain tens of thousands of people, has been completely removed. If this crowd of Asiatics remained in Egypt (after the sack) they would have constituted a serious threat of revolt for Kamose. Moreover, how to explain that Kamose succeeded relatively easily crushing the Asiatics (near Nefrusy) who were associated with the revolt of Teti, the mighty Viceroy of Kush, and he did not have been able to face the Asiatics in Avaris.
- Archaeological reasons. From Ahmose there is a complete disappearance of any reference to the Hyksos (unexplained) and Palestine "Lower Retenu" became suddenly the "land of Kharru"²²⁰ (Hurrians) for Egyptians. Shortly after, from Thutmose I and up to Ramses III, appear in Palestine an important new Asiatic people, called Shasu, who are extensively described in the Egyptian iconographic documents²²¹.

Shasu refer to Bedouins ("wandering" in Egyptian), called Habiru ("emigrants" in Akkadian) by Canaanites²²². This identification is confirmed by the Egyptian priest Manetho himself. He explains the word as Hyksos from *hyk-sos* "King Shepherd", which is relatively accurate, because the Egyptian word *heq* means "ruler/chief" and the word *sos* actually means "shepherd". Sahidic translation (late Egyptian) of Genesis 47:6: *if you know any able men among them, then make them rulers over my cattle*, used for example the word *sos* to describe these "rulers of cattle". The Hyksos word actually comes from the Egyptian *heqaw ha'sw.t* "Rulers of foreign lands", but Manetho connected it to the Shasu appeared later and thus translated it as "Rulers of shepherds" *heqaw sosw* (in Egyptian *šs* means "travelling"). Studies on Shasu²²³ tend to rehabilitate this so-called popular etymology. In fact, the Egyptians understood the word *shasu* as a common noun designating semi-sedentary shepherds staying mainly in the south of Palestine. They used the phrase "Lands of Shasu", which shows that they originally included this phrase as a geographical designation. The fact that they wrote the word sometimes *shas* (*šs*) "wandering" instead of the usual *shasu* (*šsw*) also shows that they originally included the word as a synonym for "transhumant".

The spatial and temporal distribution of Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware (which is a distinctive ceramic ware of the late Middle Bronze Age name from its type site at Tell el-

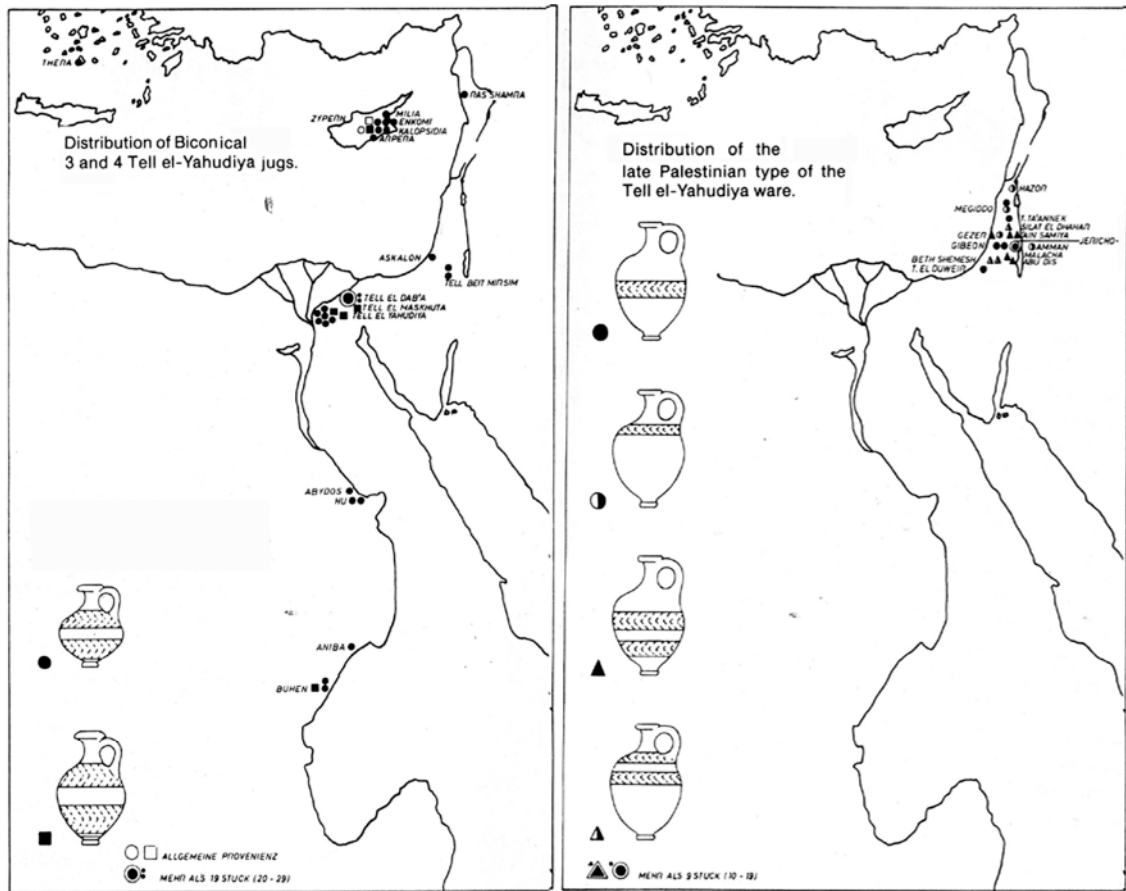
²²⁰ J.-C. GOYON – De l'Afrique à l'Orient
Paris 2005 Ed. E.J. ellipses pp. 57-61.

²²¹ R. GIVEON - Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens
Leiden 1971 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 248-250.

²²² D. CHARPIN – Hammurabi de Babylone
Paris, 2003, Éd. Presses Universitaires de France p. 238.

²²³ M.G. HASEL - Domination and Resistance. Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant
Leiden 1998 Ed. Brill pp. 217-239.

Yahudiyeh "Mountain of the Jews")²²⁴, confirms that the Habiru / Shasu of Canaan had identical culture:



Several Egyptian depictions confirm the link between former Hyksos and Shasu, as hairstyle and the use of a particular weapon: a curved trencher or scimitar²²⁵. These shasu warriors are portrayed on Egyptian frescoes with this weapon, already used by the Hyksos (and by the Egyptians who had borrowed them) and before by the Sumerians²²⁶ (like King E-anatum toward -2300). This ax of Canaanite type called *garzen*, was very common in the East and was also used by the Israelites (Deuteronomy 20:19).



Shasu appear with beards, hairstyles and clothes are substantially identical to those worn by the Hyksos represented on a wall at Beni-Hassan.

²²⁴ M. BIETAK – Egypt and Canaan During the Middle Bronze Age in *BAJOR* 281 (1991) pp. 58-59.

²²⁵ R. GIVEON - Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens Leiden 1971 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 248-254.

²²⁶ J. B. PRITCHARD - The Ancient Near East in Pictures Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press p. 95.

This hairstyle with a headband encircling the head was a characteristic attribute, in addition, this form seems to have been typical of ancient times. Egyptian art represented thoroughly variations in hairstyles Shasu, it was not for the representatives of other nations. Some features are identical to the biblical descriptions. In addition to their characteristic hair, a detail deserves special note: these prisoners and Shasu soldiers are often clothed in fringes decorated with tassels. According to the



biblical text, Moses commanded the Israelites, after they arrived in Palestine to the frayed edges parts of their clothing and tassels at the four corners of these garments (Numbers 15:38-40; Deuteronomy 22:12). This coincidence reinforces the identification of additional Shasu (former Hyksos) with the Israelites of the Bible

The conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews is dated 1493 BCE, according to the Masoretic chronology. Archaeology confirms the destruction of many cities in Palestine²²⁷ around 1500 BCE. The presence of Hapiru (SA.GAZ) in Canaan is mentioned by King Idrimi²²⁸ (1500-1470) during his stay²²⁹ with them (1487-1480?). Egyptians performed several campaigns in Syria-Palestine, soon after 1500 BCE, in fact simple police operations against Canaanite cities of the region (mainly in the Mitanni and not in Lower Retenu, the Hebrews area) to remind them their state of vassalage²³⁰. If the Egyptian frescoes, in the 15th century BCE, portrayed the Syrians under the features of a vassal people²³¹, they simply disparage the "vile" Shasu without explaining their exact status in the region. The Amarna letters show that during the 14th century there were many disturbances in Palestine. This confused situation would explain why Egyptian raids in Palestine are not mentioned in the biblical text, while many cities were back Canaanite or Amorite after the death of Joshua (Judges 1:10-36). Besides, the description of Apiru by Canaanite kings in the el-Amarna letters²³², is similar to Shasu by Egyptian kings. The area occupied by the Israelites in Palestine hardly concerned the Mediterranean coast, as the south was occupied by the Philistines and the north by the Phoenicians. The Pharaohs led some campaigns in Asia, they mainly concerned Mitanni or the north of Canaan, but never the south of Palestine. In addition, when they entered the area of Israel (north of Palestine), it was only in periods

²²⁷ A. MAZAR - Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10000-586 BCE
 New York 1990 Ed. Doubleday pp. 224-242.

²²⁸ E.L. GREENSTEIN, D. MARCUS - The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi
 in: *Journal of the Association of Near-Eastern Studies* 8 (1976) pp. 59-96.

²²⁹ The fatal incident that forced Idrimi to leave Aleppo is the attack of his city (in 1500 BCE) by Mursili I, a king of Hatti.

²³⁰ B. MANLEY - Atlas historique de l'Égypte ancienne
 Edimbourg 1998 Éd. Autrement pp. 70-73.

²³¹ J. B. PRITCHARD - The Ancient Near East in Pictures
 Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 15-17.

²³² W.L. MORAN - Les lettres d'El Amarna
 in: *LIPO* n°13 Paris 1987 Éd. Cerf pp. 604-605.

when this area was under foreign domination. General Egyptian Ahmose-Pennekhet, for example, recounts in his biography at the time of Thutmose I (ca. -1480) that he made prisoners in Nubia and Naharin [Mitanni] and during a punitive expedition in the North, Shasu were on his passage forcing him to crush them.

Pharaoh Thutmose III indicates that even in his annals during his 14th campaign (year 39 of his reign), he stayed in Retenu after defeating the Shasu²³³. This campaign, however occurred late in his reign, long after the conquest of the Syrian port cities which enabled him to take the sea route to approach his northern enemies²³⁴. This campaign against Shasu was a secondary character, and its main purpose was to appease a rebellion, and at the same time, opening roads to the Egyptian army (according to Judges 1:28-33; 3:1-5, the Israelites were at war and occupied only a small part of Canaan). About this campaign, in large geographical lists of Thutmose III, no place is cited in southern Palestine, usually associated with Shasu, with the exception of the Negev. On the stele of Buto, for example, dated in the year 23 of his reign, appears this text²³⁵: *All lands and all foreign countries, subdued, are under his sandals, one went to him head down, and bowing in front of his lightning. Foreign rulers [Hyksos] over the entire Earth recognize: "He [Thutmose III] is our master." It is he who has made them come back to him by the fear he inspires. There is no country that he has trampled to expand the borders of Egypt by victories, thanks to his power. Neither millions nor hundreds of thousands of men put off his courage. It is a brave king who, in the melee, made great slaughters among Asiatic coalitions. He is the one that makes rulers of Retenu's land, in their entirety, to be required to provide their tribute and be subject to the annual tax like the people who depend on his palace. He is more effective alone than an army of many thousands of men. He is a so valiant fighter that no one can match in the entire country, neither in his army, nor among foreign rulers [Hyksos], nor South, nor North. This is a king who deserves his power exalted as much as his valour. Egypt has increased since his inception: it fears no other country, it has not to worry about the South, nor to worry about the North (...) The lands of Min and Kush were its subjects, offering it their production of gold, in abundance, ivory and ebony, without limit. There was no king who has done what he has done among all the kings that have existed so far.* Boastful tales of this pharaoh, however, combine in the feud the rulers of foreign lands (Hyksos), rulers of Retenu's land, the Asiatics and vanquished Shasu²³⁶.

According to the reports from some mayors Canaanites, the Apiru were becoming a threat to Egypt: *The Apiru took the whole country (...) if the king, my lord, do not pay attention to the words of his servant, while Gubla [Byblos] will join him and all countries of the king, up to Egypt, will be joined to the Apiru* (EA Letters 83, 88, 94). It seems however that the messages of this vassal king showed more posturing than real war, so since he also wrote: *Since it is I who stopped the Apiru there are hostilities against me (...) what I have to do, I who live among Apiru* (Letter EA 130). What complicates an accurate identification of groups is the multiplicity of ethnic groups in the same place: *the son of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites* (Judges 3:5). The city of Jerusalem remaining in the hands of Jebusites (Joshua 15:63). The name Jebus (Judges 19:10) means "trample". Mari texts (around 1800 BCE) experiencing Amorite anthroponym Yabusi'um. A Amorite clan "those of Yabusi" would therefore have been settled in Jerusalem²³⁷. Campaigns of Pharaohs have always avoided the area of the Shasu which extended into the western plains

²³³ H. GRAPOW - Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des dritten
Berlin 1949 Ed. Akademie Verl. pp. 27,70,71.

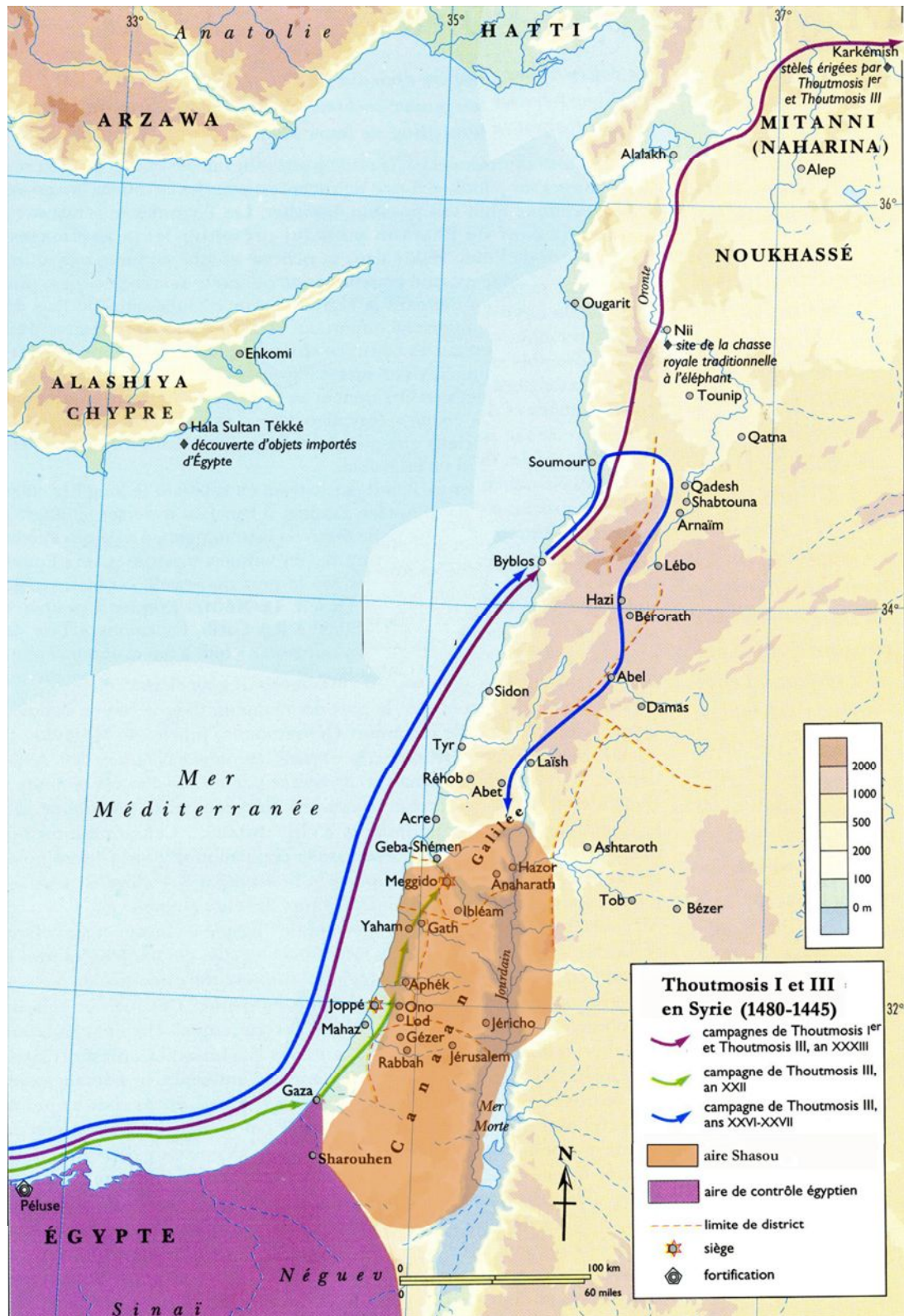
²³⁴ T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH - The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty
Uppsala 1946 Ed. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift p. 39.

²³⁵ A.S. VON BOMHARD - Le calendrier Égyptien. Une œuvre d'éternité
London 1999 Ed. Periplus pp. 42-43.

²³⁶ P. GRANDET - Les pharaons du Nouvel Empire : une pensée stratégique
Paris 2008 Éd. du Rocher pp. 89,298.

²³⁷ E. LIPINSKI Itineraria Phoenicia
in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127 (2004) Peeters p. 502).

of Jericho and corresponded to the area indicated by the text of Joshua 4:13. The area of Apiru was smaller than the entire Retenu, however Egyptian domination in Northern Palestine was episodic and may be more theoretical than real²³⁸.



²³⁸ J.C. GOYON - De l'Afrique à l'Orient (1800-330 avant notre ère)
Paris 2005 Éd. Ellipses pp. 73-75, 101-105.

La carte illustre la Syrie antique (1414-1412) et les territoires d'Aménophis II. Les régions principales sont l'Anatolie, l'Arzawa, l'Alashiya (Chypre), le Hatti, le Mitanni (Naharina), et l'Égypte. Les zones d'influence égyptienne sont indiquées par des couleurs : rose pour l'aire Shasou, orange pour l'aire d'influence égyptienne, et rouge pour l'aire de domination égyptienne. Les routes maritimes sont tracées en bleu, avec une route depuis Memphis et une autre depuis Qaqa en 1418. Les villes et sites importants sont marqués, notamment Ougarit, Nii (site de la chasse royale traditionnelle à l'éléphant), Qatna, Soumouro, Qadesh, Shabtouna, Amnaim, Lébo, Hazi, Bérorath, Abel, Hadara, Damas, Sidon, Tyr, Laish, Abét, Acre, Gaba Shémen, Meggido, Défaite de Qaqa en 1418, Yham, Ibléam, Gath, Aphék, Joppé, Mahaz, Ono, Jéricho, Jérusalem, Gazer, Rabbat, Yourza, Sharouhen, Péluse, Karkémish, Alep, et Kénath. Le fleuve Oronte est également représenté. Une légende et une échelle (0 à 100 km) sont fournies.

The high number of Shasu captured (some of whom will serve later in the Egyptian army), half of Kharru (the Canaanites), shows that Shasu constituted a population of first magnitude at that time. It was not a small group of families who emigrated to Palestine, but, as argued by the biblical text, a large group of people. If the Egyptian text distinguishes Shasu and Apiru this does not prove that there was no link between these two groups, because the terms Shasu and Apiru were not proper names but common names. In the Amarna letters, the settlers conquering Palestine are Hapiru/ 'Apiru²³⁹ "refugees/migrants"²⁴⁰, with the meaning "rebels/ outlaws"²⁴¹. The word Habiru means "migrants" in Semitic languages²⁴² hence its later meaning "wanderers". The list of Amenophis II can be understood: outlaw (Apiru) 3600, living transhumants (Shasu) 15200. If for Egyptians Shasu, including of Palestine, were also perceived as wanderers or even outlaw, but all outlaw or wanderers were not transhumant (Shasu). The biblical text itself states that the cities that had been conquered by the Israelites remained very variegated: *Manasseh did not dispossess Beth-Shean and its dependencies, nor Taanach and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Dor and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and its dependencies, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and its dependencies; in those parts the Canaanites held their ground (...) The Amorites held their ground at Har-Heres and Shaalbim* (Judges 1:27-35). According to figures from Amenophis' list, the Shasu (shepherds of Palestine) were four times more numerous than the Apiru (outlaws).

DATING THE FALL OF JERICHO (IN 1493 BCE)

The destruction of Jericho is well documented in the biblical narrative, as it is the first Canaanite city conquered by Joshua after entering the land: *The Israelites pitched their camp at Gilgal and kept the Passover there on the 14th day of the month, at evening, in the plain of Jericho. On the very next day after the Passover, they ate what the land produced, unleavened bread and roasted ears of corn. The manna stopped the day after they had eaten the produce of the land. The Israelites from that year onwards [1493 BCE] ate the produce of Canaan and had no more manna (...) The people raised the war cry, the trumpets sounded. When the people heard the sound of the trumpet, they raised a mighty war cry and the wall collapsed then and there. At once the people stormed the city, each man going straight forward; and they captured the city. They burned the city and everything inside it, except the silver, the gold and the things of bronze and iron; these they put into the treasury of Yahweh's house* (Joshua 5:11-6:24). According to the biblical text, Jericho, also called "City of Palms", was reoccupied 18 years (1404-1386) by Eglon (Judges 3:12-14), a king of Moab. This city has become a small village, mentioned in the time of David (2 Samuel 10:5), was rebuilt at the time of Ahab (1Kings 16:33-34) who reigned (919-898), 500 years after the conquest of Joshua.

The city of Jericho, located in front of Mount Nebo, land of Moab (Deuteronomy 32:49), was identified with Tell es-Sultan. Several points of the biblical narrative have been confirmed by archaeology: 1) the city was on a hillock (the people went up into the city), 2) it was fortified, 3) the city was burned and 4) has not been occupied for several centuries. The main disagreement comes from dating²⁴³: according to John Garstang, the destruction of Jericho took place around 1400 BCE, but according to Kathleen Kenyon, the city was

²³⁹ W.L. MORAN - Les lettres d'El Amarna in: *LIPO* n°13

Paris 1987 Éd. Cerf pp.604,605.

²⁴⁰ M. GUICHARD - Les émigrés politiques au Proche-Orient ancien

in: *Dossiers d'Archéologie* n°300 février 2005 pp. 40-49.

²⁴¹ N. NA'AMAN - Habiru and Hebrew: The transfer of a social Term to the Literary Sphere

in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986) pp. 271-288.

²⁴² J.M. DURAND - Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari in: *LIPO* n°18 Paris 2000 Éd. Cerf p. 205.

R. DE VAUX - Histoire ancienne d'Israël

Paris 1986 Éd. Gabalda pp. 106-112,202-208.

²⁴³ E.M. BLAIKLOCK, R.K. HARRISON - Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology

Michigan 1983 Ed. Regency pp. 258-261.

R. DE VAUX - Histoire ancienne d'Israël

Paris 1986 Éd. Gabalda pp. 560-563.

destroyed around 1550 BCE and was then abandoned. This difference of 150 years illustrates the great difficulty in dating an event only from strata and pottery, however, these two dates exclude an Exodus in the 13th century BCE under Ramses II.

Dating the destruction of Jericho is tricky because the remains of the city are very low and it has been rebuilt at least 7 times. There are actually a twofold chronological problem: 1) academics who use the information from the biblical text place the Exodus under Ramses II, which is in complete disagreement with the archaeological²⁴⁴ data, and 2) most of the archaeologists, date the destruction of Jericho around -1550 (at the latest). However, the discovery of scarab seals²⁴⁵ in the name of Thutmose III, Hatshepsut and Amenophis III, proves that this city was still inhabited long after this date. In addition, pottery, type "bi-chrome Cypriot", appearing only during the Hyksos period²⁴⁶ (1600-1450), have also been unearthed in this city.



Two elements, unexplainable by archaeology, advocate for biblical narrative: 1) who were the perpetrators of the destruction? 2) Why many jars found at the site were still full of grains (opposite figure)? According to the Bible, the siege was short (7 days), thus grain reserves will not last be initiated. Kenyon believed that the city had been destroyed by the Egyptians at the time of the expulsion of the Hyksos²⁴⁷, but this contradicts the account of Ahmose, son of Abana, who clearly states not having gone beyond Sharuhén (near Gaza), further, the Egyptians have never been in this region. The only plausible explanation is to identify the Hyksos with the Israelites. According to the biblical text, the Israelites burned three cities: Jericho, Ai, and Hazor during their conquest of Canaan (Joshua 6:1,24; 8:19; 11:11-13). This precise information is in agreement with archaeology dating these three destructions by fire around -1500²⁴⁸. The Carbon 14 dating actually gives a date 1563 BCE +/- 38 years from a sample of 6 seeds²⁴⁹ or 1597 BCE +/- 91 years from two samples²⁵⁰ of



²⁴⁴ J.K. HOFFMEIER – Israel in Egypt. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition Oxford 1996 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 122-126.

²⁴⁵ J. GARSTANG – The Story of Jericho: Further Light on the Biblical Narrative in: *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 58 (1941), pp. 126,368-372.

²⁴⁶ Y. YADIN – Hazor: The Head of All Those Kingdoms London 1972 Ed. Oxford University Press p. 32.

A. MAZAR – Archaeology of the Land of the Bible New York 1990 Ed. Doubleday pp. 216-218, 257-261.

²⁴⁷ K.M. KENYON – Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age in: *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. 2 Part 1 (1973), pp. 92-93.

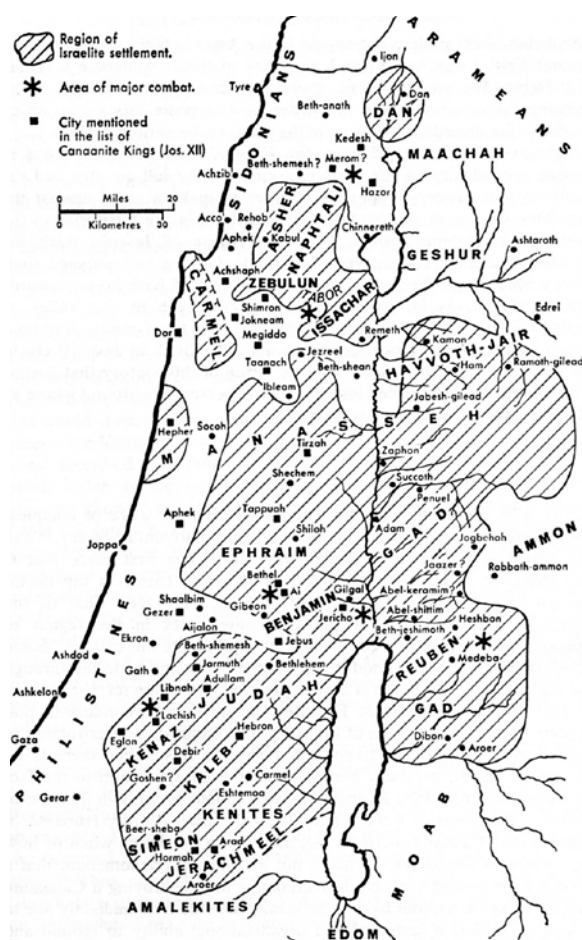
²⁴⁸ Y. YADIN – Hazor, the Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible 1975 London, Ed. Littlehampton Book Services.

²⁴⁹ H. BRUINS, J. VAN DER PLICHT – Tell-es-Sultan (Jericho): Radiocarbon results of short-lived cereal and multiyear charcoal samples from the end of the Middle Bronze Age in: *Radiocarbon* 37:2 (1995) p. 213-220.

²⁵⁰ Excavations at Jericho, 1998. Preliminary Report on the Second Season of Excavations and Surveys at Tell es-Sultan, Palestine in: *Quaderni di Gerico* 2 (2000) pp. 206-207,330,332.

a basic structure. Again to explain this destruction, we must imagine wars (not documented) between the small kingdoms of Canaan. This explanation, however, faces to logic, because which kingdom could defeat Hazor, one of the most powerful cities of the time (the Egyptians and Babylonians were absent from this region)? In addition, the walls of this city are identical to those excavated at Tell el-Yahudiyeh and at Heliopolis (in the east of the Delta in Egypt), typical of the Hyksos fortifications²⁵¹ of this period. All these datings are consistent and confirm indirectly the biblical text.

The archaeological dating of the destruction of Jericho, according to the Carbon 14 (calibrated) would be around -1550. However, these ¹⁴C measures overestimate dates about 50 years, during this period, compared those from Egyptian chronology²⁵². This difference implies a date, calibrated and corrected, around 1500 BCE, in good agreement with the dating 1493 BCE, according to the Masoretic chronology. Moreover, according to the biblical text, several regions conquered by the Israelites, after their entry into Canaan, varied in space and also in time²⁵³:



Letter EA 75²⁵⁴ dates the war 'Apiru: *Let the king, my lord, know that Gubla [Byblos], the servant of the king from ancient times, was unhurt. However, the war of Apiru against me is severe (...)* The 'Apiru killed Aduma the king of Irqata, but there was no one who has said anything to 'Abdi-

²⁵¹ A. MAZAR – Archeology of the Land of the Bible
New York 1990 Ed. Doubleday pp. 194-202.

²⁵² H. HAAS, ET AL. – Radiocarbon Chronology and the Historical Calendar in Egypt
in: Chronologies in the Near East (1987) Ed. O. Aurenche et al pp. 585-606.

²⁵³ Y. AHARONI – The Land of the Bible
Philadelphia 1979, Ed. The Westminster Press pp. 202-214.

²⁵⁴ W.L. MORAN - Les lettres d'El Amarna
in: LIPO n°13 Paris 1987 Éd. Cerf pp. 255,256.

Aširta. As they continue their catch (...) Let the king, my lord, learns that the king of Hatti has seized all the countries which were [vassals] of the king of Mitanni. See, he is king, of Naḥrima [and] of the country of great kings, [and] 'Abdi-Aširta [the servant] and dog, is going to tak[e the country of the king]. This war in Canaan²⁵⁵ matches the one led in Syria by Suppiluliuma I, dated 1347 BCE²⁵⁶. It coincides with the accession of Barak, a Jewish judge who declared war against Jabin II, the king of Hazor (Judges 4:1-23), who was killed early in the war. Although Jabin is presented as king of Canaan, in fact it was Sisera who controlled the north of Palestine. The title "king of Canaan" was honorary because there were several kings in Canaan at the time. This honorary title was already used at the time of the conquest of Joshua (in 1493 BCE) as is specified on Jabin I: *Jabin king of Hazor heard about this (...) Joshua then turned back and captured Hazor, putting its king to the sword. Hazor in olden days was the capital of all these kingdoms* (Joshua 11:1,10)²⁵⁷. The disappearance of Jabin II early in the conflicts (in 1347 BCE) may explain his absence among El-Amarna letters. According to the biblical text this king ruled the country not because of numerical superiority but thanks to his weapons (Judges 4:3; 5:8). Thus, after the disappearance of its "900 iron chariots," the kingdom of Hazor did not played any major role in the region²⁵⁸. The only letter to mention a king of Hazor is that of Abi-Milku, the mayor of Tyre: *He who made raids in the country of the king is the king of Sidon. The King of Ḥašura abandoned his home and is aligned with the 'Apiru (...) They are traitors individuals. He returned king's country for 'Apiru. May the king ask his Commissioner who is familiar with Canaan* (Letter EA 148). The following letters refer only to the "man of Hazor" not to the King: *Message of 'Abdi-Tirši, the man of Ḥašura your servant (...) while I keep Ḥašura and its villages, for the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, remember: everything that has been done against Ḥašura your city, and against your servant* (Letter EA 228) *This is the man of Ḥašura who took me three cities. From the day I learned and saw, we make him war* (Letter EA 364).

The role of Sisera as prince²⁵⁹ of the army of Jabin is paramount, as it is then the only one to be quoted (1Samuel 12:9). This character must be important because it is mentioned in a treaty of alliance between two kings of the region²⁶⁰: *As from today, Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, and Aširu, king of the Amurru, did between them (an agreement) by oath (...) If bunchs of Hapiru make raids in my country Aširu will fight against my enemy with chariots and soldiers. If there are troubles in my country Aširu will come to my rescue <with> his chariots and his troops. On the other hand, Siḫḫaruwa (si-sa-ru-wa) is a subject of the king and the city of Uštanu is his resi[dence]. If Siḫḫaruwa (Sisera) behaves as an enemy to the king, Aširu will fight against Siḫḫaruwa (Sisera) with his chariots and his troops.* According to the biblical text, Sisera (Sisara in the LXX) is dead just before the end of the reign of Jabin II (1366-1346) over Israel, whereas this treaty must be concluded to this date, and therefore early in the reigns of Niqmaddu III (1347-1315) and Aširu (1347-1314). Former area of King of Hazor was therefore came under the control of 'Apiru. According to the text of Judges 4:24-25, Jabin II, initially at peace with the Israelites in the region, was defeated gradually. Despite the crucial role of 'Apiru in the region, the El-Amarna letters never mention their king, which could be explained by the fact that Barak was only a judge, or a counsellor, not a king.

²⁵⁵ B. MANLEY - Atlas historique de l'Égypte ancienne Edimbourg 1998 Éd. Autrement pp. 80,81.

²⁵⁶ T.R. BRYCE – Some observations on the Chronology of Šuppiluliuma's Reign in: *Anatolian Studies* XXXIX (1989) pp. 19-30.

²⁵⁷ Prior -1800, Hazor and Laish are the only two cities of Canaan mentioned in the archives of Mari which attach great importance to Hazor. The name of Geti king of Hazor, is listed in the Execration Texts, around -1950, and that of Ibni-Addu, king of Hazor, appears in letters to the kings of Mari around -1700 (J. BRIEND – Israël et les nations in: *Supplément au Cahiers Évangile* 69, Cerf, 1989, pp. 14-16). The use of the title "king" in a honorific way is an Eastern practice. Aššur-uballit II, for example, is still called the king of Assyria in the Babylonian annals, while he controlled no more than a little bit of empire.

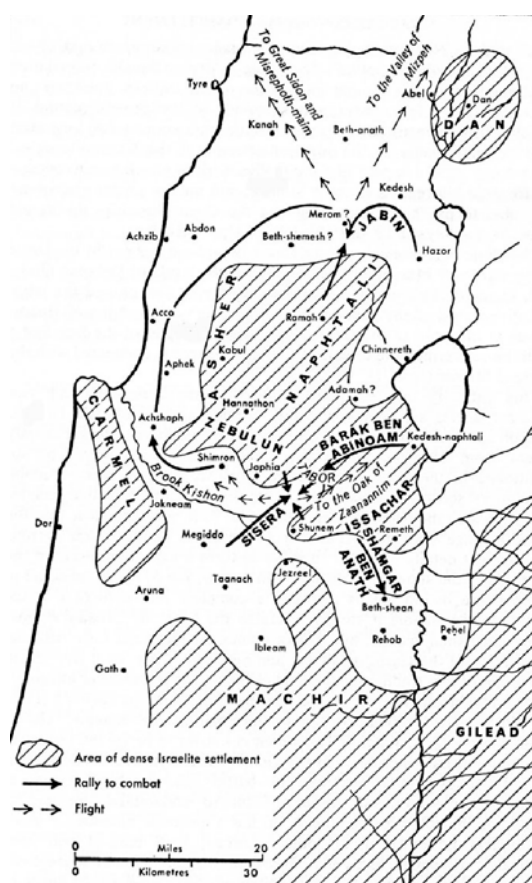
²⁵⁸ At that time a garrison of 400 men and pairs of horses was enough to control a whole territory (letter EA 76).

²⁵⁹ The Hebrew word *sar* expresses the title of "prince / leader" rather than Head, *rosh* in Hebrew (1 Samuel 15:17).

²⁶⁰ S. LACKENBACHER – Textes akkadiens d'Ugarit in: LIPO n° 20 (2002) Éd. Cerf pp. 64-65.

The area controlled by the 'Apiru, according to the letters of the Canaanite kings, is substantially the same as Shasu's country described by Egyptians texts. This region of Palestine seems escaping the domination of Egypt, since the Commissioner of Šumur was responsible only for Amurru country (from Byblos to the south of Ugarit and inward up to Orontes). The Commissioner of Kumidu administered Apu country, a territory from Kadesh, in southern Syria, to Hazor in the north of Palestine, and from Damascus area to the northern Transjordan. Finally, the Commissioner of Gaza controlled Palestine, except Shasu's countries, and a part of the Phoenician coast, probably up to Beirut²⁶¹. According to the biblical text, controlled areas were very fluctuating²⁶².

Assyrian, Babylonian and Egyptian chronologies, calibrated by astronomy, are used to fix other chronologies (Hatti, Ugarit, Mitanni and Amurru²⁶³). The time of Apiru's war is highlighted:



King of Hatti		King of Amurru		Period of Judges	
Tuthaliya IV III	1370-1353	Abdi-Aširta	1380 -	Ehud/ Shamgar	1386-1366
Šuppiluliuma I ^{cr}	1353 -		-1347	Jabin II /Sisera	1366-1346
	-1322	Aziru	1347 -	Barak	1346 -
Muršili II	1322 -		-1314		
	-1295	DU-Tešub	1314-1312		-1306
		Duppi-Tešub	1312-1280?	Madian	1306-1299
Muwatalli II	1295-1275	Bentešina	1280?-1275	Gideon (Jerubbaal)	1299 -
Urhi-Teshub	1275-1268	Šapili	1275-1264		
Ḫattušili III	1268-1241	Bentešina	1264-1230		-1259

King of Ugarit		King of Mitanni		King of Egypt	
Niqmepa V	1380-1360	Šutarna II	1373-1355	Amenhotep III	1383-1345
Ammištamru II	1360 -	Artašumara	1355-1353	Akhenaton	1356 -
	-1347	Tušratta	1353-1339		-1340
Niqmaddu III	1347 -	Artatama II	1339-1325	Semenkhkare	1340-1338
		Šutarna III	1339 -	-Ankhkheperure	1338-1336
	-1315		-1325	Tutankhamon	1336-1327
		Šattiwaza	1325 -	Aḳ	1327-1323
Arḫalbu	1315-1310		-1300	Horemheb	1323-1295
Niqmepa VI	1310 -	Šattuara I ^{cr}	1300 -	Ramses I	1295-1294
			-1285	Sety I	1294-1283
		Wašašatta	1285-1275	Ramses II	1283 -
	-1260	Šattuara II	1275-1265		-1216

²⁶¹ W.L. MORAN - Les lettres d'El Amarna in: *LIPO* n°13 Paris 1987 Éd. Cerf pp. 34-35.

²⁶² Y. AHARONI - The Land of the Bible Philadelphia 1979, Ed. The Westminster Press pp. 220-225.

²⁶³ S. IZRE'EL - Singer, A Concise History of Amurru in: *Amurru Akkadian: A Linguistic Study* vol. II (Ed. Scholars Press, 1991) pp. 172-179.

Paralleling synchronisms implies to date the war of 'Apiru during the war in Syria led by Suppiluliuma I, from May -1347 to May -1346:

			[A]	[B]	[C]	[D]	[E]	[F]	
-1347	1	X	36	10			13	19	[A] Amenhotep III King of Egypt <i>Letter EA 23 (year 36 of Amenhotep III)</i>
	2	XI							
	3	XII							
	4	I	37	11	11	6	0	20	[F] Jabin II Canaanite King of Israel [C] Aššur-uballit I King of Assyria [D] Šuppiluliuma I King of Hatti <i>Letter EA 75 (war in Syria led by King of Hatti war of 'Apiru being in progress)</i> [E] Tušratta King of Mitanni [F] Baraq Israelite Judge
	5	II							
	6	III							
	7	IV							
	8	V							
	9	VI							
	10	VII							
	11	VIII							
	12	IX							
-1346	1	X							
	2	XI							
	3	XII							
	4	I							
	5	II							
	6	III							
	7	IV							
	8	V							
	9	VI							
	10	VII							
	11	VIII							
	12	IX							
-1345	1	X	38	12	12	7	14	1	
	2	XI							
	3	XII							
	4	I							
	5	II							
	6	III							
	7	IV							
	8	V							
	9	VI							
	10	VII							
	11	VIII							
	12	IX							
-1344	1	X	1	13	13	8	15	2	[A] Akhenaton new name of [B] Amenhotep IV King of Egypt <i>Letter EA 27 (year 12 of Amenhotep IV)</i>
	2	XI							
	3	XII							
	4	I							
	5	II							
	6	III							
	7	IV							
	8	V							
	9	VI							
	10	VII							
	11	VIII							
	12	IX							
-1343	1	X	2	13	14	9	16	3	
	2	XI							
	3	XII							
	4	I							
	5	II							
	6	III							

After Amenhotep III's death Amenhotep IV reigned under his new name Akhenaton:

		Amenhotep III	Amenhotep IV	Tušratta		Šuppiluliuma I
	1353	31	4	[1]		
	1352	32	5	[2]	0	1st attack
	1351	33	6	EA 17, EA 18	1	2
	1350	34	7	EA 19, EA 20	2	3
	1349	35	8	EA 21, EA 22	3	4
	1348	36	9	EA 23, EA 24	4	'1 year War'
	1347	37	10	EA 25		1
	1346	38	11	EA 26		2
	1345	Akhenaton	12	EA 27	1	3
	1344	2	13		2	4
	1343	3	14	EA 28	3	5
	1342	4	15		4	6
	1341	5	16	EA 29		7
	1340	6	17			8
	1339	Semenkhkare	1	[15]		9 (EA 41)
	1338		2			10 (EA 43)

THE HYKSOS WAR ACCORDING TO THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

If the dates obtained by ^{14}C (calibrated by dendrochronology) are imprecise they nevertheless set values to ± 15 years (2010) over the period 1500-1000²⁶⁴. Dates obtained both by ^{14}C and astronomy (dates in bold), with their differences, have been highlighted:

		Reign according to ^{14}C	Length of reign	Reign according to astronomical dating	gap
	17 th Dynasty				
8	Taa Sequenre	-	11 years	/1544-04/1533	
9	Kamose	-	2 years 11 months	05/1533-04/1530	
	18 th Dynasty				
1	Ahmose	1557-1532	25 years 4 months	04/ 1530 -07/1505	+27
2	Amenhotep I	1532-1511	20 years 7 months	08/ 1505 -02/1484	+27
3	Thutmose I	1511-1499	12 years 9 months	02/1484-11/1472	+27
4	Thutmose II	1499-1486	3 years	08/1472-07/1469	+27
	[-Hatshepsut]	1480-	[21 years 9 months]	[08/1472-04/1450]	+8
5	Thutmose III /[Amenhotep II]	1486-1434	53 years 11 months [2 years 4 months]	[08/ 1472 -03/1418] [11/ 1420 -03/1418]	+14
6	Amenhotep II	1434-1407	25 years 10 months	04/1418-02/1392	+16
7	Thutmose IV	1407-1397	9 years 8 months	02/1392-10/1383	+15
8	Amenhotep III /[Amenhotep IV]	1397-1359 1359-1345	37 years 10 months [11 years 5 months]	10/1383-07/ 1345 [03/1356-07/1345]	+14
	Akhenaton		5 years 2 months	08/1345-10/ 1340	
9	Semenkhkare	1345-1342	1 year 4 months	10/1340-02/ 1338	+5
10	-Ankhkheperure		2 years 1 months	02/1338-03/1336	
11	Tutankhamon	1342-1333	9 years 8 months	03/1336-10/ 1327	+6
12	Ay	1333-1330	4 years 1 month	10/1327-11/1323	+6
13	Horemheb I [former regent] Horemheb II [pharaoh]	1330-1302	14 years 13 years 2 months	11/1323-11/1309 12/1309-01/1295	+7
	19 th Dynasty				
1	Ramses I ^{er}	1302-1302	1 year 4 months	01/1295-05/1294	+7
2	Sethy I ^{er}	1302-1285	11 years	06/ 1294 -06/1283	+8
3	Ramses II	1285-1219	67 years 2 months	06/1283 -07/1216	+2
4	Merenptah	1219-1206	9 years 3 months	08/1216-10/1207	+3
5	Sethy II	1206-	5 years	11/1207-10/1202	-1
6	[Amenmes]	1209-	[4 years]	[04/1206-03/1202]	+3
7	Siptah	1200-1194	6 years	11/1202 -10/1196	-2
	Siptah-Tausert / [Setnakht]	1194-1192	1 year 6 months	11/1196-04/1194	-2
	20 th Dynasty				
1	Sethnakht	1192-1189	3 years 5 months	11/1196-03/1192	-4
2	Ramses III	1189-1158	31 years 1 months	04/1192 -04/1161	-3
3	Ramses IV	1158-1152	6 years 8 months	05/1161 -12/1155	-3
4	Ramses V	1152-1148	3 years 2 months	01/1154-02/1151	-2
5	Ramses VI	1148-1140	7 years	03/1151-02/1144	-3
6	Ramses VII	1140-1133	7 years 1 month	03/1144-03/1137	-4
7	Ramses VIII	1133-1130	3 months ?	04/1137-06/1137	-4
8	Ramses IX	1130-1112	18 years 4 months	07/1137-10/1119	-7
9	Ramses X	1112-1103	2 years 5 months	11/1119-03/1116	-7
10	Ramses XI	1103-1073	26 years 1 month ?	04/1116-04/1090	-13
	21 th Dynasty				
1	Smendes	1073-1046	26 years	1090-1064	-17
2	Amenemnesut	1046-1042	4 years	[1064-1060]	-18
3	Psusennes I	1042-997	46 years	1064 -1018	-24
4	Amenemope	997-989	9 years	1018-1009	-21

²⁶⁴ C.B. RAMSEY, M.W. DEE, J.M. ROWLAND, T.F. G. HIGHAM, S.A. HARRIS, F. BROCK, A. QUILES, E.M. WILD, E.S. MARCUS, A.J. SHORTLAND - Radiocarbon - Based Chronology for Dynastic Egypt in: *Science* Vol 328 (10 june 2010) pp. 1554-1557.
<http://www.sciencemag.org/cgi/data/328/5985/1554/DC1/1>

DETERMINING THE REIGN OF THUTMOSE III

The reign of Thutmose III is based on the following chronological data:

- It is dated 1486-1434 by ^{14}C to ± 15 years.
- The date of accession is: year 1, I Shemu 4, and date of death is: year 54, III Peret 30 (length of his reign: 53 years 11 months)²⁶⁵. Years of reign are counted from the date of accession (I Shemu 4) and not from 1st Thoth (I Akhet 1). Moreover, Thutmose III began to reign independently, without Hatshepsut, presumably from year 22, II Peret 10, according to Armant Stele²⁶⁶.
- The astronomical ceiling of Senenmut's tomb gives the position of several constellations and planets, known at this time. Some of them are easy to identify as the Big Dipper, Orion, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Saturn and Jupiter. This ceiling describes a right ascension of Jupiter between 73° and 95° where Mars is not visible, which could occur in the period from 1455 to 1505, only during the night on November 14, 1463 BCE (the III Akhet 23) according to astronomy²⁶⁷. Senenmut was a very important person under Hatshepsut, thus it is possible to find the year of the reign when the ceiling of his grave was designed. Senenmut received the prestigious title of "Grand Steward of Amun" probably around the 5th or the 7th year of Thutmose III and also had the rare privilege for an individual to develop a royal tomb and to append his own grave. Ostraca of this tomb²⁶⁸ can set the year in which the ceiling was realized, because masonry and stone cutting started on IV Peret 2, year 7 of Thutmose III and spread out through year 9. As ostrakon No. 80 states that the door of the chapel was opened on III Akhet 27, year 11, we can assume that the development work and decoration, such as the astronomical ceiling design (from the observation) were performed at the end of development work in year 9 or 10. According to Dorman²⁶⁹, Senenmut monuments and those of the vast complex of Deir el-Bahari were probably built in parallel. The posthumous disgraces of Senenmut and Queen Hatshepsut led to an hammering and a rewriting of their cartouches, which creates conflicting dates²⁷⁰. These two disgraces are unexplained since the mummy of Thutmose I was placed (in year 16) in the sarcophagus of Hatshepsut beside another which was built after his death²⁷¹ (in year 22). However, the start date of the tomb is Year 7. As Senenmut's tomb is only a small part of the vast complex, 2 years of construction seem to be sufficient to complete the ceiling. The famous expedition to Punt, for example, which is represented on a retaining wall of the temple²⁷², is dated year 9. Astronomical observation represented on the ceiling must therefore date this year 9 of Thutmose III, which sets the accession of the pharaoh in 1472 (= 1463 + 9) BCE and his reign from 08/1472 to 03/1418, according to the accession date.
- Two lunar days 1 (*psdntym*)²⁷³ respectively dated I Shemu 21 of year 23 (Urk.IV 657.2) and II Peret 30 of year 24 (Urk.IV 836.1-3), confirm the dating of Thutmose III's reign.

²⁶⁵ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 271-318.

²⁶⁶ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2 pp. 293-294.

²⁶⁷ C. LEITZ - Le premier plafond astronomique dans la tombe de Senenmut
in: *Les dossiers d'archéologie* n°187 S (Novembre 1993) pp. 116,117.

²⁶⁸ W.C. HAYES - Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mut (TT171) at Thebes
New York 1942 Ed. Arno Press pp. 7,21-23.

²⁶⁹ P.F. DORMAN - The Monuments of Senenmut. Problems in Historical Methodology
New York Ed. Kegan Paul International pp. 66-109.

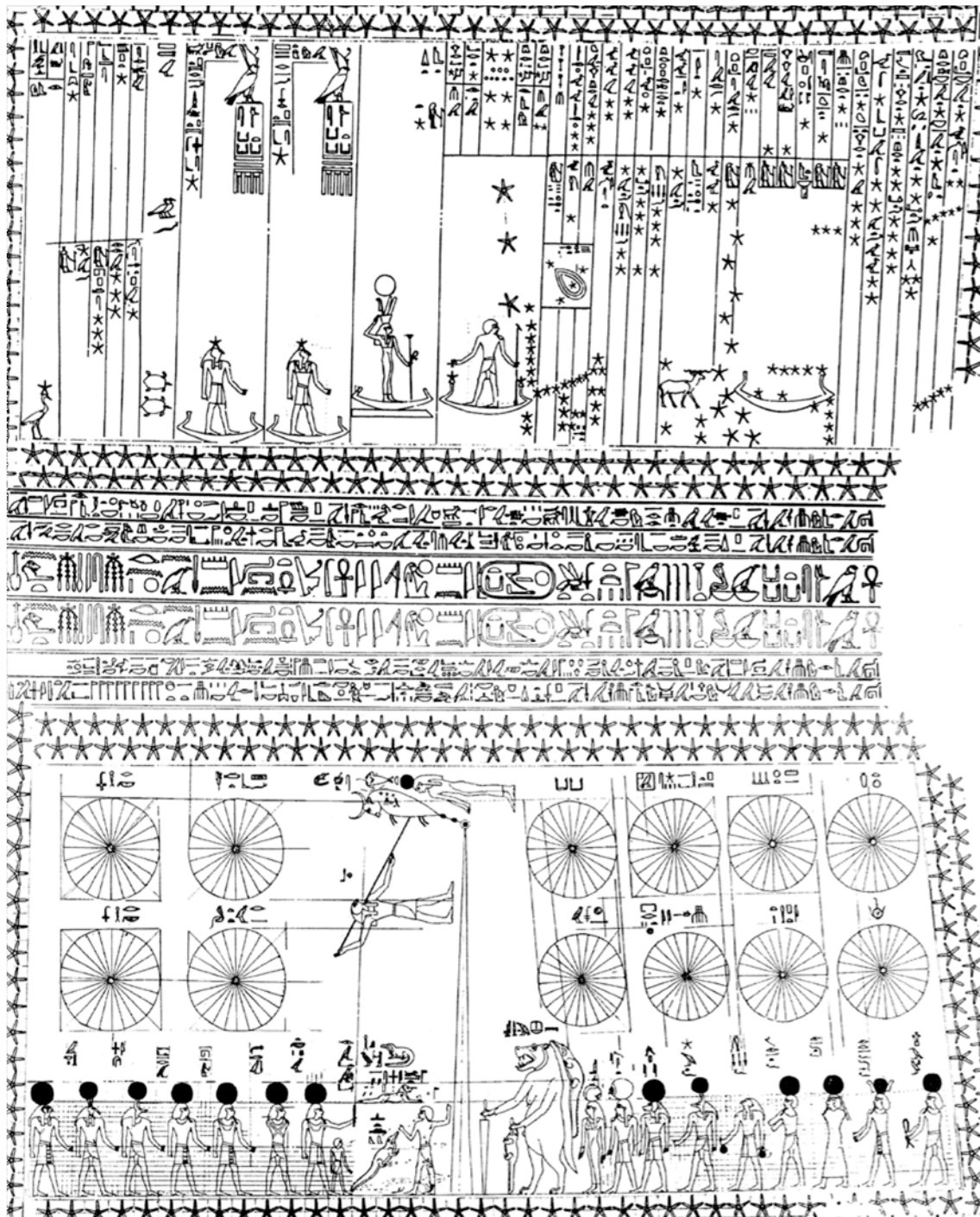
²⁷⁰ C. DESROCHES NOBLECOURT - La reine mystérieuse Hatshepsout
Paris 2002 Éd. Pygmalion p. 58.

²⁷¹ C. LALOUEITE - Thèbes ou la naissance d'un empire
Paris 1995 Éd. Flammarion pp. 270-271.

²⁷² C. GRAINDORGE - Deir El Bahari le temple de millions d'années
in: *Les dossiers d'archéologie* n°187 S (11/1993) pp. 72-75.

²⁷³ K. SETHE - Urkunden der 18. Dynastie
Leipzig 1907 Ed. J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung pp. IV 657, 807-809, 836.

According to astronomy these lunar days (*psdntyn*)²⁷⁴ dated 21/IX/23 and 30/VI/24²⁷⁵, coincided with full moons of May 7 in 1450 BCE and of February 16 in 1448 BCE.

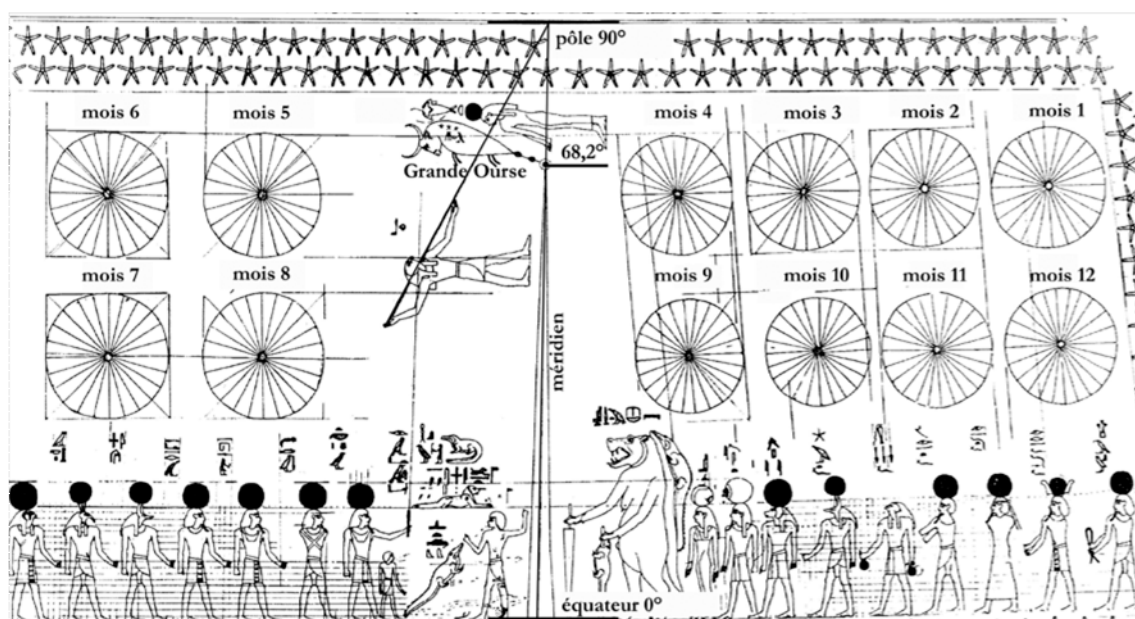


On the lower part, one recognized 12 circles thanks to their names in hieroglyphs, they represent the 12 Egyptian months. In the centre of this panel, separating the 12 circles into two groups unequal, a long and narrow triangle symbolizes the meridian. On the tip of the meridian there is a small circle which is connected to the schematic drawing of a bull called Big Dipper by a hieroglyph inscribed on its body. The Egyptians believed that the 7

²⁷⁴ R.A. PARKER - 'The Lunar Dates of Thutmose III and Ramesses II in: *Journal of Eastern Studies* XVI (1957) pp. 39-43.

²⁷⁵ Thutmose III inaugurated a sanctuary 30/VI/24 he called Akh-menu "brilliant monument" (Urk. IV, 836:2-3).

main stars of this constellation embodied a bull or rather its thigh and that the star (η) at the tip of the meridian was *Ursae majoris*, the Big Dipper. If we extend the spear of falcon-headed god figured under the Big Dipper and the meridian, the two lines meet at the North Pole (90° declination), the meridian being itself on the equator (0° declination). The star in the small circle (η *Ursae majoris*) is precisely located at 68.2° (by measuring its distance from the equator and knowing that the total distance from the equator to the pole represents 90°). When a star is on the meridian, it holds the highest position (if it is a circumpolar star it is also its lowest position), one says that it culminates. The culmination played an important role among the Egyptians and the culmination of the star η *Ursae majoris* was done on the night of March 18 to 19 at midnight with a declination of 68.2° at that time (which confirms that it is indeed the culmination of this star). Moreover, if one extends the spear backwards it leads on the month 8 (IV Peret) which began in mid-March at that time (around 1470 BCE), which confirms again the identification.

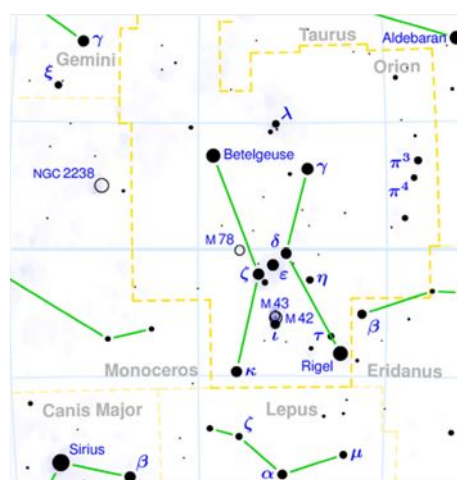


The vertical line in the middle represents the meridian, the floor line represents the equator (0°) and the ceiling line represents the pole (90°). By extending the inclined side of the meridian in the upper part, this line intersects the toes of Orion's left foot (equidistant from the left and right edges), that is to say Rigel (β *Orionis*). In fact, the Egyptians identified Orion to the god Osiris: its main star Rigel ("foot" in Arabic) gave its name to the whole constellation, *ṣḥ* meaning "Orion" as well as "Toes." The arrangement of 12 months in 3 groups of 4 can be used to date events. These 12 months of the Egyptian year (which has 360 days excluding 5 epagomenal days) are divided by the meridian into 3 equal parts of 120 days. If the boundary between the 2nd and the 3rd part is the night of March 18 to 19 (culmination of the star η *Ursae majoris*), the one between the 3rd and the 1st is 120 days later, on the night of July 16 to 17 which corresponds to the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest star in the sky, and the Egyptian New Year celebration. That day, began the first season of the Egyptian year, and the Nile began to flood the Lower Egypt in mid-July. The boundary between the 1st and the 2nd part was located 120 days later, on the night of November 14 to 15. During that night unfolded another major astronomical event: the culmination of Rigel (β *Orionis*) at midnight (note: the full year is divided into 36 decans, each covering a period of 10 days).

month 8			month 9			month 10			month 11		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
19 Mar.	29 Mar.	8 Apr.	18 Apr.	28 Apr.	8 May	18 mai	28 May	7 June	17 June	27 June	7 July
month 12			month 1			month 2			month 3		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
17 Jul.	27 Jul.	6 Aug.	16 Aug.	26 Aug.	5 Sep.	15 Sep.	25 Sep.	5 Oct.	15 Oct.	25 Oct.	4 Nov.
month 4			month 5			month 6			month 7		
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
14 Nov.	24 Nov.	4 Dec.	14 Dec.	24 Dec.	3 Jan.	13 Jan.	23 Jan.	2 Feb.	12 Feb.	22 Feb.	4 Mar.

From the foregoing, it is possible to date astronomically the ceiling, because a heliacal rising of Sirius on July 17 is only possible at a latitude of 30° N, near Heliopolis. Similarly, the simultaneous passage on the meridian of Rigel (β Orionis) and star of the Big Dipper (η Ursa majoris) also gives a latitude of 30° N²⁷⁶. Because of the precession of the equinoxes, the value of the declination of the Big Dipper varied slightly from about $0.06'$ per year, which allows us to date²⁷⁷ the ceiling (under its precise value in the drawing) in 1460 to ± 10 years, because the human eye can not separate an apparent angle of less than $1'$ ($= 17 \times 0.06'$, these 17 years are rounded to 20 years or ± 10 years). In the upper part of the drawing of the southern sky, one recognizes the god Orion standing in a boat. On the left there is a woman standing too in a boat. It is Isis identified with the goddess Sothis. Following two falcon-headed gods with a star on their head. The hieroglyphs above them identify them as Jupiter and Saturn. At the extreme left is Venus that the Egyptians represented in the guise of a heron (*bmn*). Mercury is also present in the form of a small Sethian figure, above to the right of Venus. Mars, the last of five planets known in antiquity, is missing²⁷⁸. Its absence (empty boat) in a celestial map also neat is all the more remarkable that in all later cards and, without exception, even more schematic, Mars follows in a ship Jupiter and Saturn as 3rd falcon-headed god. The only possible conclusion is that Mars was not visible during the night represented in the tomb of Senenmut. Another detail makes it possible to calculate the year of astronomical ceiling. We note that near the figures of Orion and Jupiter there are small dots determining the exact position of the two stars. The line near Jupiter corresponds on the map to all points of the same longitude which have the same rise between 73° and 95° . However, among the 50 years between 1505 and 1455 ($= 1480 \pm 25$), there is only one²⁷⁹ in which Jupiter had a right ascension between 73° and 95° , on the night of November 14 to 15, and Mars was not visible: it is the year 1463 BCE.

The previous result is surprising, because the Egyptian priests astronomers, usually very accurate in their representations, were particularly ill-advised to choose this year when Mars is absent (unique in Egyptian representations), or it is not so. Indeed, the observation of the shape and the position of Orion's constellations, Sirius and Venus explains the reason for their choice.



²⁷⁶ É. TISSOT – Étude de l'astronomie égyptienne et ses implications dans la symbolique astrale de la constellation d'Orion dans la religion égyptienne Lyon 1990 Mémoire de maîtrise : Histoire de l'art - Maison de l'Orient Université Lyon 2 (Mé - 12/1) pp. 112-114.

²⁷⁷ <http://www.fourmilab.ch/cgi-bin/Yourhorizon>

²⁷⁸ C. LEITZ – Remarks about the Appearance of Mars in the Tomb of Senenmut in Western Thebes in: *Centaurus* Vol. 44 (2002) pp. 140-142.

²⁷⁹ C. LEITZ – Le premier plafond astronomique dans la tombe de Senmout in: *Les dossiers d'archéologie* n°187 S (Novembre 1993) pp. 116-117.

If Rigel corresponds to Orion's toes with the 3 stars aligned in its belt, Sirius is located consequently on the level of Sothis' ankles which is at the same level of the head of the heron representing Venus. This heron, called Phoenix by the Greeks, inaugurates the beginning of the ceiling to the upper left and month 1 inaugurates the beginning of the ceiling to the bottom right. If the culmination of the Big Dipper can be dated November 14, 1463, this year began with the heliacal rising on Sirius July 17, 1464 BCE, at month 1. But on this day occurred an exceptional phenomenon which only happens every 103 years: the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest star in the sky, coincided with the heliacal setting of Venus, the brightest planet. This coincidence of dates inaugurated a new era called "Great year" or "Rebirth of the phoenix" by the Greeks. Astronomical observation represented on the ceiling makes it possible to date the year 9 of Thutmose III in 1463 BCE, which sets its accession in 1472 (= 1463 + 9). Those coincidences were calculated by van Oosterhout²⁸⁰ (astronomical dates *; Heliopolis: longitude 31° 19', latitude 30° 05'; Thebes longitude 32° 39', latitude 25° 42'):

Heliopolis								
(243 years)	-1558*	-1315*	-1072*	-829*	-586*	-343*	-100*	143
+103 years	-1455*	-1202*	-969*	-726*	-483*	-240*	3	246
Thebes								
(243 years)	-1542*	-1299*	-1056	-813	-570	-327	-84	159
+103 years	-1439*	-1196*	-953*	-710*	-467*	-224*	19	262

The dates in this table can be shifted more or less 8 years because of the pseudo period of 8 years. Astronomical simulation²⁸¹ enables to choose the best fit, for example, the coincidence in **-1455*** (1456 BCE) is better in -1463* (= -1455 - 8). These dates have played a special role, since some have been commemorated and those in bold have left a historical record. Coins of Antoninus Pius²⁸² of year 2 (in 139 CE) and 6 (in 143 CE) of his reign are marked with the phoenix²⁸³ and the term Αἰών "lifespan". This Greek word corresponds to the Egyptian expression *mpt* "year" / "regeneration". The date of 143 commemorated by Antoninus Pius coincides with a double helical rising of Sirius and Venus (July 19, 143 CE). Other "eras of the Phoenix" were represented²⁸⁴ (in order), that of: -1299 by Sety I; -1196 by Tausert; -1056 by Psusennes I (whose name means *the star that rises over the city [Thebes]*); -343 by Nectanebo II and the one of -240 (?) on Harendotes' sarcophagus. Some historians such as Tacitus (Annals VI:28), cited these "eras of the Phoenix" without understanding the meaning.

²⁸⁰ G.W. VAN OOSTERHOUT – Sirius, Venus and the Egyptian Calendar in: *Discussions in Egyptology* 27 (1993) pp. 83-96.

²⁸¹ <http://www.fourmilab.ch/cgi-bin/Yourhorizon>

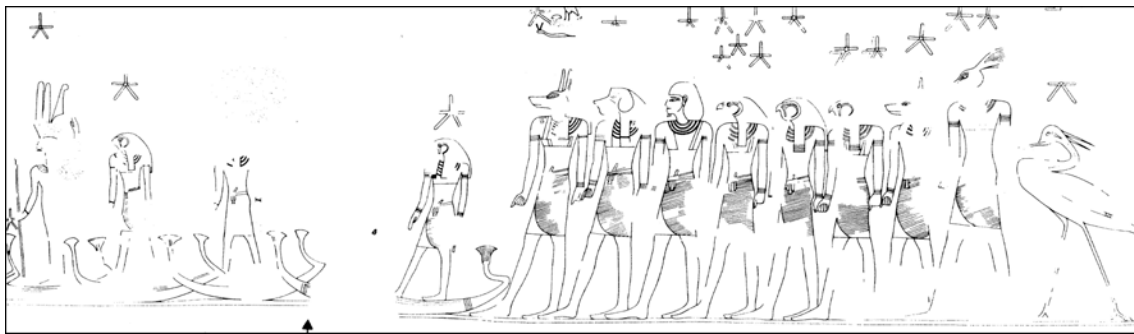
²⁸² H. MATTINGLY – The Roman Imperial Coinage Vol. III Antoninus Pius to Commodus London 1962 Ed. Spink and Son Ltd pp. 1-7,168,169.

²⁸³ R. VAN DEN BROEK – The Myth of the Phoenix Leiden 1972 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 66-73,103-109, 428-433.

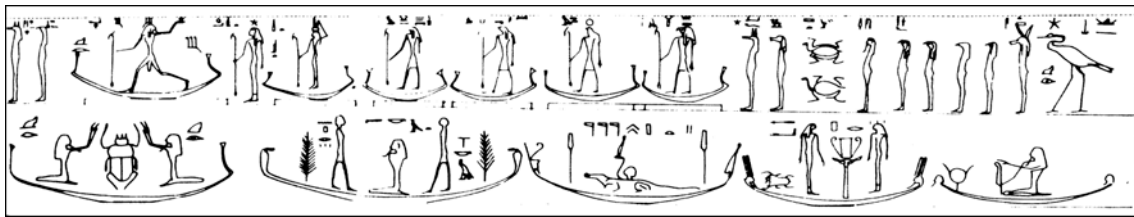
²⁸⁴ O. NEUGEBAUER, R.A. PARKER – Egyptian Astronomical Texts London 1969 Ed. Brown University Press pp. 6-11, plates 3, 9, 16, 25, 28.



⬆ (Sety I, 1300 BCE)



(Tausert, 1197 BCE)



(Psusennes I, 1057 BCE)



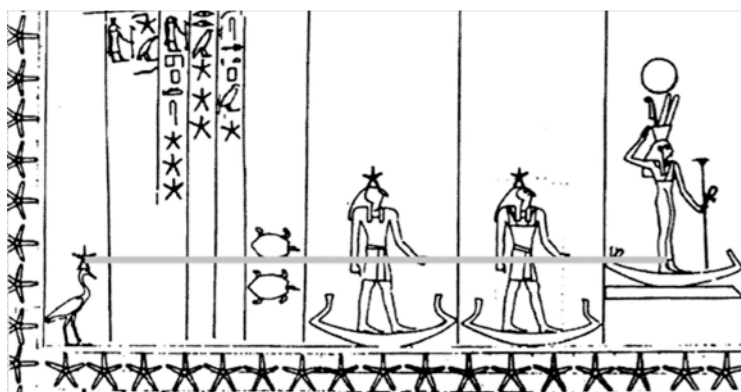
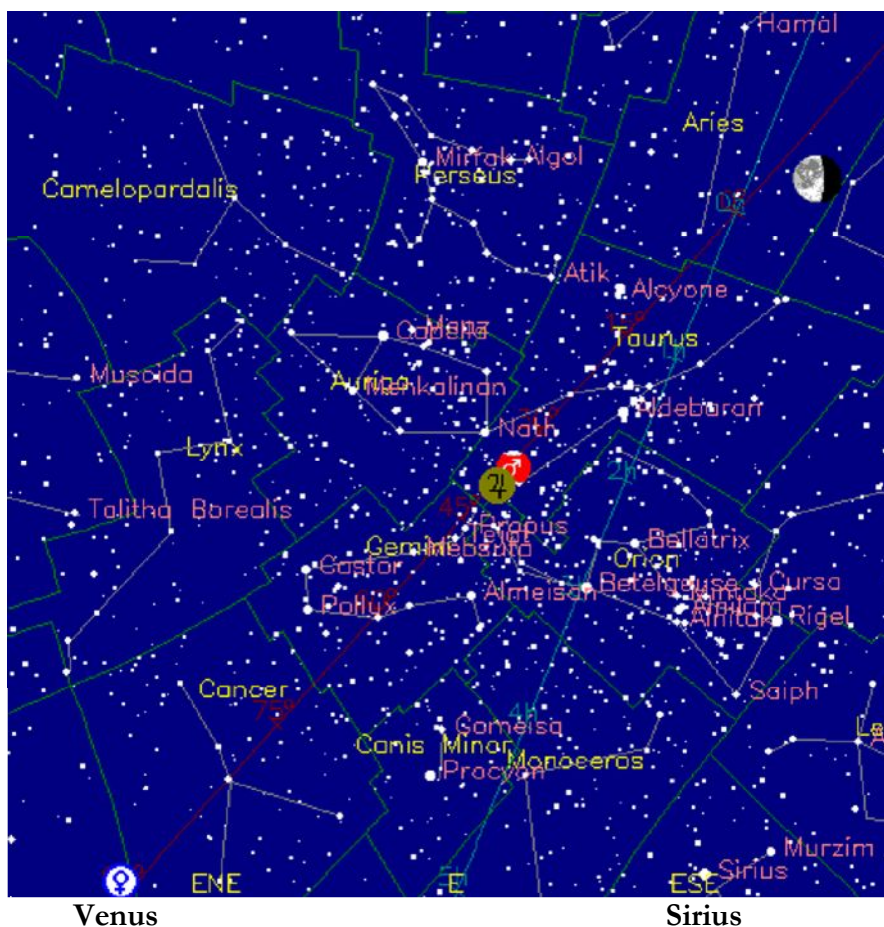
⬆ (Nectanebo II, 341 BCE)



(Harendotes, 241 BCE)



Celestial Map of heliacal risings of Venus and Sirius July 16, 1464 BCE



The star on the head of the phoenix represents the heliacal setting of Venus coinciding with the heliacal rising of Sirius, located in the ankles of Sothis (associated with Isis representing Venus), Rigel being located in the toes of Orion.

The year 1 of Thutmose III starting in 1472 BCE, the year 23 had to begin on April 21, 1450 BCE (I Shemu 4). The date I Shemu 21 year 23 (21/IX/23) of Thutmose III corresponds to May 8, 1450 BCE and the 30 II Peret, year 24 (30/VI/24), corresponds to February 15, 1448 BCE. These two dates coincide with full moons (such coincidences reproduce only every 25 years). Thutmose chose this specific lunar day to attack Megiddo (21/IX/23) because he considered it as an auspicious day of shining full moon (the word *psdntyn* "lunar day 1" actually means "shining ones"). He explains: *Now that illuminates the*

moon, that encircles the solar disk when it shines, that surround Geb and Nut, he placed them in the circle of his arms. His Majesty stands at the entrance to the earth, ready to defeat the Asiatics²⁸⁵. Reign of Thutmose III dated according to the lunar cycle of 25 years:

	year			AKHET				PERET				SHEMU				5
				I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	
				Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	
Thutmose III	1472	1	24	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	
	1471	2	25	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	
	1470	3	1	1	30	29	29	28	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	
	1469	4	2	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	
	1468	5	3	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3
	1467	6	4	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	23	
	1466	7	5	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	
	1465	8	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1
	1464	9	7	25	25	24	24	23	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	
	1463	10	8	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	
	1462	11	9	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	30	29	29	28	
	1461	12	10	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	
	1460	13	11	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	
	1459	14	12	2	1	1	30	30	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	
	1458	15	13	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	
	1457	16	14	10	9	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4
	1456	17	15	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	
	1455	18	16	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	
	1454	19	17	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2
	1453	20	18	26	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	
	1452	21	19	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	
	1451	22	20	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	30	
	1450	23	21	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	
	1449	24	22	13	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	
	1448	25	23	3	2	2	1	1	1/30	30	29	29	28	28	27	
	1447	26	24	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	
	1446	27	25	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	

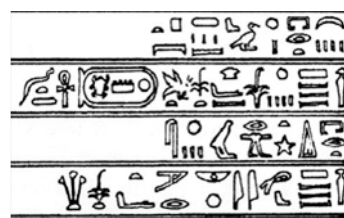
		Lunar dates recorded in the Egyptian (civil) calendar
		Astronomical synchronism

The beginning of works in Senenmut's tomb is dated IV Peret 2, year 7 of Thutmose III (full moon of March 24, 1465 BCE).

Two other Sothic dates appear during the reign of Thutmose III, but regnal years are not known²⁸⁶. Presumably it was after the II Peret 10 of the year 22 of Thutmose III (without Hatshepsut). The Elephantine Stone, from the temple of Khnum that Thutmose III made built, mentions a Sothic rising dated III Shemu 28 and the Buto Stele contains a Sothic setting dated immediately before the I Shemu 30 (penultimate line).



Sothic rising (III Shemu 28)



Sothic setting (I Shemu 30)

²⁸⁵ C. LALOUEITE – Thèbes. La naissance d'un empire Paris 1995 Éd. Flammarion pp. 276-279, 371-372).

²⁸⁶ A.S. VON BOMHARD - Le calendrier Égyptien. Une œuvre d'éternité London 1999 Ed. Periplus pp. 41-44.

It is indeed a setting, not a Sothic rising, for the following reason: between III Shemu 28 and I Shemu 29, the 61 days between these two Sothic dates would correspond to a difference of 244 years ($= 4 \times 61$), which is impossible for the same king. In addition, the hieroglyph representing the "rising" actually means "leave" (two legs walking surmounted by a horizontal bar "bolt") and not "arrive", confirming the representation (very rare) of a Sothic setting which occurs 61 days before the rising. Between the Sothic setting dated I Shemu 29 and the Sothic rising dated III Shemu 28 there is a period of invisibility of 61 days and not 70 days. This difference could be explained by the fact that this period decreased about 1.5 day for 1° latitude southward, which implies 67 days in Buto (latitude 31.1°) and 59 days in Thebes (latitude 25.7°). This period of invisibility is different from Egyptian texts which always indicate 70 days. This discrepancy with astronomy illustrates the role of religious Egyptian astronomy. Indeed, at this time²⁸⁷, the period of invisibility of Sirius is about 65 days at the latitude of Buto, 63 days at the latitude of Memphis. Even assuming good observing conditions (*arcus visionis* of 8° for Sothic rising and 6.5° for Sothic setting) there is a period of 67 days at the latitude of Buto and not 70 days as Egyptian texts indicate. This period of 70 days covered in fact a symbolic period of 7 decans²⁸⁸, Egyptian year being covered by 36 decans, or 360 days ($= 12 \times 30$).

The date of 28 Shemu III belongs to the effective reign of Thutmose, after his 22 years of co-regency with Hatshepsut. In addition, the Palestine campaign which occurred from years 23 to 25 is mentioned in Buto Stele: *It is a brave king who, in the melee, made great slaughters among Asiatic coalitions. He is the one that makes rulers of Retenu's land, in their entirety, to be required to provide their tribute*²⁸⁹. Sothic dates appearing on Buto Stele and on Elephantine Stone are likely dating to year 25. According to astronomy (*arcus visionis* of 8.5° and latitude 25.7° at Thebes), this Sothic rising is dated around July 12 (to -1500). The III Shemu 28 coincides with July 12 on the period 1448-1445. The heliacal rising of Sirius dated July 12, 1448 BCE (year 25) coincides with a full moon, which has no doubt been a remarkable event (the lunar cycle of 25 years begins in 1471 BCE at the 1st Thoth coinciding with the 1st lunar day *psdntym*, full moon of August 26, 1471 BCE). In addition, a previous full moon of I Shemu 29 (15 May 1448), coincides this time with the Sothic setting mentioned in Buto Stele. These exceptional coincidences with full moon may explain why these two Sothic dates were mentioned on inscriptions.

Dated lunar days in the Egyptian calendar allow obtaining absolute dates in Egyptian chronology and, for example, to fix precisely the reigns of Thutmose III and Ramses II. These days are of the type "year *x*, month *y*, day *z* which is a lunar day 1 [*psdntym*]" and are almost linked to that day 1, because the other lunar days (6, 15, 18, 29) dated in the calendar are exceptional. Synchronisms dated by astronomy show that the Egyptian lunar month began on the full moon (until the beginning of the Ptolemaic era)²⁹⁰. The Egyptian lunar calendar was used to fix religious observances associated with the moon, hence the importance of day 1 starting the cycle, but has rarely been used to date events since the civil calendar was planned for this purpose. Double lunar dates such as "month *X*, days *Y* [*lunar*] corresponding to year *x*, month *y*, day *z* [*civil*]" are rare²⁹¹, but they allow demonstrating that the Egyptian lunar calendar began with an intercalary month (which explains its difficult use

²⁸⁷ M.F. INGHAM – The Length of the Sothic Cycle
in: *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969) pp. 36-40.

J. CONMAN – It's About Time: Ancient Egyptian Cosmology
in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur Band* 31 (2003) pp. 42-47.

²⁸⁸ A.S. VON BOMHARD – Le livre du ciel. De l'observation astronomique à la mythologie
in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 150 (2007) Ed. Uitgeverij Peeters pp. 202-205.

²⁸⁹ A.S. VON BOMHARD – Le calendrier Égyptien. Une œuvre d'éternité
London 1999 Ed. Periplus pp. 41-44.

²⁹⁰ Greek astronomers used a lunar calendar beginning on the new moon.

²⁹¹ Papyrus Rylands inv. 666 (dated 180 BCE), papyrus Louvre 7848 (dated 558 BCE), papyrus Ebers (dated around 1500 BCE).

for dating). Thanks to these double lunar dates, it is possible dating year 12 of Amasis in 558 BCE and 9 year of Amenhotep I in 1496 BCE.

Reigns prior Thutmose III can be reconstructed by combining the length of reigns with accession dates²⁹². These data are insufficient to reconstruct the chronology, but the information provided by Manetho²⁹³, transmitted by Josephus (Against Apion I:93-98), which seem fairly reliable over this period, can complete this table:

Pharaoh	Accession date	Highest date	Length (min.)	Manetho	Reign duration
Taa Sequenre	?	11 II Shemu	10 years	-	10 years x m.
Kamose	II Shemu	3 III Shemu 10	2 years	-	3 years
Ahmoese		22	21 years	25 years 4 m.	25 years 4 m.
Amenhotep I	III/IV Shemu ?	21	20 years	20 years 7 m.	20 years 7 m.
Thutmose I	III Peret 21	11 ?	10 years	12 years 9 m.	12 years 9 m.
Thutmose II		1 II Akhet 8	1 year	13 years	3 years
[Hatshepsut]	[coregency]	20 III Peret 2	[20 years]	[21 years 9 m.]	[21 years 9 m.]
Thutmose III	I Shemu 4	54 III Peret 30	53 years 11 m.	-	53 years 11 m.

Durations of reign are obtained by matching the highest dates of the reign with accession dates. The 13 years attributed to Thutmose II by Manetho result either from a miscalculation in the subtraction of co-regencies, or a scribal error "/ 3 years" being read "13 years." The length of the reign of Thutmose II can be checked by listing the number of scarabs assigned to each pharaoh²⁹⁴ and assuming a normal statistical distribution (constant average production rate):

Pharaoh	Reign duration		Number of scarabs	Average per year
Thutmose I	12 years 9 months		241 / 290	18,9 / 22,7
Thutmose II	[3 years]		65 / 90	[20] / [30] ²⁹⁵
Hatshepsut	21 years 9 months		463 / ----	21,3 / ----
Thutmose III		08/1472-03/1418		
Thutmose IV	9 years 8 months		---- / 374	---- / 38,7

Assuming an annual average of 20/30, we obtain a reign of about 3 years (= 65/20 or 90/30) for Thutmose II, not 13 years. A second way to check the approximate length of this reign comes from the biography of Ahmoese Pen-Nekhbet who claims to have reached a good old age after serving several pharaohs from Ahmoese until the death of Hatshepsut, or 82 years (25 + 20 + 12 + 3 + 22). If he had started at the age of 18, he would have reached 100 years (110 years old with 13 years of reign). Even if the co-regency between Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is well documented since Thutmose III ruled with her until year 22 (then he ruled alone), it is more complicated than it seems. The date of accession being I Shemu 4 and his death being dated III Peret 30 year 54, that implies a total duration of 53 years and 11 months, including 32 years for the reign alone (subtracting his co-regency with Hatshepsut). However, Josephus seems making two mistakes: forgetting the reign of Thutmose III and giving a wrong filiation, because Hatshepsut was the daughter of Thutmose I, not Amenhotep I. This could be due to a misinterpretation of the reign of Hatshepsut, because the queen dated her reign in the name of her son Thutmose III in continuity of the reign of her husband Thutmose II. Thutmose III argues, for example,

²⁹² E. HORNUNG – The New Kingdom

in: Ancient Egyptian Chronology. Leiden 2006 Ed. Brill pp. 198-201.

J. VON BECKERATH – Chronologie des pharaonischen ägypten

1997 Ed. Verlag Philipp von Zabern pp. 201,202.

²⁹³ W.G. WADDELL - Manetho

Massachusetts 1956 Ed. Harvard University Press pp. 101-119.

²⁹⁴ L. GABOLDE – La chronologie du règne de Thoutmosis II

in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* Band 14 (1987) pp. 61-81.

²⁹⁵ [20] = [18,9 + 21,3]/2 ; [30] = [22,7 + 38,7]/2.

having ruled alongside his father Thutmose II²⁹⁶ (in fact Hatshepsut). In addition, she celebrated in the year 16 of Thutmose III a jubilee commemorating the 30 years of reign of her father Thutmose I (who reigned 12 years and 9 months), which proves that her reign began (in fact Thutmose III's reign) in year 1 of Thutmose II²⁹⁷. This way of proceeding is classical, as shown in the case of the female pharaoh Tausert who pursued the reign of Siptah, her husband, after his death. Hatshepsut claimed, when her husband died, having received a right to the regency from her father Thutmose I, who would also order the two obelisks of year 16 (Urk. IV, 358). Therefore, she dated her years of reign in the name of Thutmose III but in continuation of the reign of her ex-husband Thutmose II, which led to believe a co-regency between these two pharaohs²⁹⁸. Indeed, her commemoration of a jubilee in year 16 for the 30-year reign of his father Thutmose I proves that she began her reign (actually that of Thutmose III) in year 1 of Thutmose II, because the 30 years include the combination of 13 years of Thutmose I, the 3 years of Thutmose II and the first 13 years of his actual reign. In fact, the 30 years of this jubilee are shorter than those of a traditional jubilee, because it actually covers the reigns of three successive pharaohs. Two of these years of reign are shorter because they are counted from Pharaoh's accession to the accession of next Pharaoh (starting at death of previous Pharaoh). Some Egyptologists consider this jubilee (*sed* festival celebrated after 30 years of reign) is fanciful, but this assumption is illogical, because the Pharaohs were guarantor of ceremonial and they would not change it without compelling (and explained) reason. In addition, we find that adding the successive reigns of Thutmose I (13 years) and the first 16 years of Thutmose III we obtain 29 years (= 13 + 16) necessary to celebrate a jubilee.

Hatshepsut's reign begins not in year 1 but in year 4 as she continued the reign of her husband. Steles dated from Thutmose III (under the regency of his aunt Hatshepsut) are from year 4 to year 20. Furthermore, this ambiguity in the reign of Thutmose III has sometimes been interpreted as a co-regency²⁹⁹ between Hatshepsut and Thutmose I or between Thutmose II and Thutmose I, but the most logical explanation is to accept a regency on her nephew Thutmose III in the name of her husband Thutmose II. This scenario would explain the confusion of Manetho. Hatshepsut who ruled in Thutmose's name, could be considered as the daughter of Amenhotep I, Thutmose I's predecessor, and the 30-year rule in her name could be mixed with the 32 years of Thutmose III. Tutor of Hatshepsut, Ahmose Pen-Nekhet, did not consider her as a pharaoh since after her death he did not mention her on the list of pharaohs he had served: Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II and Thutmose III. Ineni stating that after the death of Thutmose II: *Thutmose III reigned through Hatshepsut*³⁰⁰.

Using durations from Manetho for the reigns of Amenhotep I and Thutmose I (reigned 12 years 5 months, died around Egyptian month XI) and that obtained from the frequency of scarabs for Thutmose II (3 years), it is possible to reconstruct a chronology of the reign of Amenhotep I. The reign of Thutmose III pursuing Thutmose II's reign (through the proxy of Hatshepsut) his accession's date of I Shemu 4 does not match that of

²⁹⁶ C. LALOUETTE – Thèbes ou la naissance d'un empire
Paris 1986 Éd. Fayard pp. 201-203, 257-260.

²⁹⁷ E. WENTE, C. VAN SIELEN - Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes
in: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39 (Chicago, 1977) pp. 220,221.

²⁹⁸ L. GABOLDE – La chronologie du règne de Thoutmosis II
in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* Band 14 (1987) pp. 61-81.

M. GABOLDE – Les portraits d'une reine pharaon
in: *Akhénaton et l'époque amarnienne* Éd. Khéops et centre d'égyptologie pp. 261-286.

²⁹⁹ W.J. MURNANE - Ancient Egyptian Coregencies
in: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 40 (Chicago, 1977) pp. 35-39,115-117,230.

³⁰⁰ C. DESROCHES NOBLECOURT – La reine mystérieuse Hatshepsout
Paris 2002 Éd. Pygmalion pp. 408-411.

Thutmose II, which prevents calculating the month of accession in 1472 BCE, probably around month XI (as the construction of two obelisks lasted 7 months, from 15/VI/15 to 30/XII/16, the accession must be just before month XII).

year			Pharaoh
1486	20/21		Amenhotep I
1485	21/ 1	/ 1	
1484	1/2	1/2	Thutmose I accession date III Peret 21 (17 February 1484)
1483	2/3	2/3	
1482	3/4	3/4	
1481	4/5	4/5	
1480	5/6	5/6	
1479	6/7	6/7	
1478	7/8	7/8	
1477	8/9	8/9	
1476	9/10	9/10	
1475	10/11	10/11	
1474	11/12	11/12	
1473	12/13	12/13	
1472	13/ 1	13/14	
1471	1/2	14/15	Thutmose II , accession date [-]/XI/13 (September 1472)
1470	2/3	15/16	
1469	3/(1)	3/4	Death of Thutmose II dated around [-]/XI/3 (July 1469)
1468		4/5	Hatshepsut extends the reign of her husband on behalf of
1467		5/6	Thutmose III
1466		6/7	
1465		7/8	Senenmut's tomb began on 2/VIII/7 (full moon dated 23/March/1465)
1464		8/9	Great Year began on 16-July-1464 (heliacal risings of Sirius and Venus)
1463		9/10	astronomical ceiling of the tomb of Senenmut. Culmination of the Big Dipper, in the absence of Mars (14-November-1463).
1462		10/11	
1461		11/12	
1460		12/13	
1459		13/14	
1458		14/15	construction of two obelisks ordered by Thutmose I (!)
1457		15/16	from 15/VI/15 (02-February-1457) to 30/XII/16 (16-August-1457)
1456		16/17	year 30 of Jubilee began at the end of year 16 (le 18-July-1456)
1455		17/18	
1454		18/19	
1453		19/20	
1452		20/21	
1451		21/22	Hatshepsut died on 10/VI/22 (27-January-1451)
1450		22/23	year 22 of Thutmose III began on I Shemu 4, 4/IX/22 (21-April-1450)
1449	23/24		lunar days <i>psdntym</i> dated 21/IX/23 (full moon dated 07-May-1450)
1448	24/25		and 30/VI/24 (full moon dated 16-February-1448), Sothic rising dated
1447	25/26		28/XI/[25] (full moon dated 12-July-1448)
1446	26/27		

Chronology of reigns from Thutmose III to Amenhotep I:

Pharaoh	Length of reign	Official reign	Actual reign
Amenhotep I	20 years 7 months	08/1505-02/1484	
Thutmose I	12 years 5 months	03/1484-07/1472	
Thutmose II	3 years	08/1472-07/1469	
Thutmose III	53 years 11 months	08/1472-04/1418	[08/1469-04/1418] [51 years 4 months]

ANALYSIS OF LUNAR DOUBLE DATE IN THE EBERS PAPYRUS

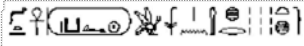
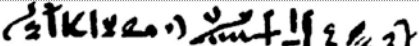
The Ebers Papyrus mentions a Sothic rising dated III Shemu 9, Year 9 of Amenhotep I. This Sothic rise is problematic because the date of accession would be to 1528-1525 assuming an observation at Thebes. Even assuming Elephantine as a place of observation, the calculated date is too high at least 15 years (= 1520-1505), in the best case:

<i>arcus visionis</i> 8°5	Sothic rising:	Period (year 9)	Year 1 of Amenhotep I
Thebes (25°4)	12/11 July	1519-1516	1528-1525
Elephantine (24°)	10 July	1513-1511	1522-1520

The analysis of the Ebers Papyrus³⁰¹ reveals some apparent anomalies:

- There would be 12 Sothic risings in the same year, which is impossible (it is probably a celebration on the same day 9 of this particular Sothic rising).
- Lunar months (not civil months already quoted) are connected in parallel with the calendar months without reason and the two last months of this calendar are called "Epoch", not "Shemu".
- Lunar months are different and shifted by 1 month compared to the classical order. The priests astronomers probably noticed that the last month of the year 9 of Amenhotep I was the 3rd month of the 3rd season (9 = 3x3), but more importantly, figure "9" also means "lunar day 1" and "Ennead" in Egyptian.

This double date is computable by astronomy. Indeed, the Ebers Papyrus is a medical treatise probably written at Thebes, the Egyptian capital, in addition, this papyrus was found near a mummy buried in Assassif, a great Theban necropolis. Sothic rising occurred on 11/12 July around 1500 BCE in Thebes (*arcus visionis* 8.5° longitude 32°39' latitude 25°42')³⁰².

						
Wpt-rapt						
Tb						
Mnht						
Ht-hr						
K2-hr-h3						
Sfddt						
Rkh [wr]						
Rkh [nds]						
Rnwt						
Hnsw						
Hnty-hty						
Ipt-hmt						

Transcription and translation of the Ebers papyrus:

³⁰¹ A.S. VON BOMHARD - Le calendrier égyptien. Une œuvre d'éternité
London 1999 Ed. Periplus pp. 32,33.

³⁰² <http://www.imcce.fr/fr/grandpublic/phenomenes/sothis/index.php>

Year 9, the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Djoser-ka-Ra [Amenhotep I], living forever.					
Opening of the Year:	III	Shemu	9	Rising of Sirius	
[month of] Thoth	IV	"	9	"	
[month of] consent	I	Akhet	9	"	
[month of] Hathor	II	"	9	"	
[month of] the soul of Horus bull	III	"	9	"	
[month of] the spelled honored	IV	"	9	"	
[month of] the flare	I	Peret	9	"	
[month of] the flare	II	"	9	"	
[month of] the cheers	III	"	9	"	
[month of] Khonsu	IV	"	9	"	
[month of] South	I	Epoch	9	"	
[month of] the majesty of Opet	II	"	9	"	

The first column seems to establish the list of celebrations attached to each lunar month of the year (Thoth, Hathor, Horus and Khonsu are lunar deities). This list was not fixed since several variants appear:

(1) Ebers Calendar (XVI cent.)	(2) Senmut ceiling (XV)	(3) Karnak clock (XIV)	(4) (+ [5]) Ramesseum ceiling (XIII)	(6) Cairo 86637 (XII)	(7) Necho clock (c. 600)	(8) Arrhidæus clock I (c. 320)	(9) Arrhidæus clock II (c. 320)	(10) Edfu frieze (c. 120)	(11) Tanis papyrus (Roman)
<i>wp rnpt</i> <i>thy</i> <i>mnht</i> <i>hwt hr</i> <i>k3 hr k3</i> <i>šf bdt</i> <i>rkḥ</i> <i>rkḥ</i> <i>rnnwtt</i> <i>ḥnsw</i> <i>ḥnt ḥt</i> <i>jpt ḥmt</i>	<i>th</i> <i>mnht</i> <i>hwt hr</i> <i>k3 k3</i> <i>šf bdt</i> <i>rkḥ</i> <i>rkḥ</i> <i>rnnwtt</i> <i>ḥnsw</i> <i>ḥnt ḥ(t)ij prty</i> <i>jpt ḥmt</i> <i>wp rnpt</i>	<i>thy</i> <i>pth</i> <i>hwt hr</i> <i>šhmt</i> <i>jmn r' nsw ntrw²</i> <i>rkḥ wr</i> <i>rkḥ nds</i> <i>rnnwtt</i> <i>[ḥnsw]</i> <i>[ḥnt ḥt]ij</i> <i>jpt ḥm(t)</i> <i>r' hr šhty</i>	<i>thy</i> <i>pth rsy jnb f</i> <i>hwt hr</i> <i>šhmt</i> <i>mn</i> <i>rkḥ wr</i> <i>rkḥ nds</i> <i>rnnwtt</i> <i>ḥnsw</i> <i>ḥnt (ḥt)ij</i> <i>jpt ḥmt</i> <i>r' hr šhty</i>	<i>(dhwtj)¹</i> <i>p n jpt</i> <i>hwt ḥrt</i> <i>k3 hr b (sic)</i> <i>tš 'bt</i> <i>[p n p3] mḥr</i> <i>[p n jmn ḥtp]</i> <i>[p n] rnnwtt</i> <i>p n [ḥnsw]</i> <i>p n j[nt]</i> <i>jpt ḥmt</i> <i>wp rnpt</i>				<i>th</i> <i>mnht(r)</i> <i>[hwt hr]</i> <i>k3 hr k3</i> <i>šf bt</i> <i>rkḥ wr</i> <i>rkḥ ndst</i> <i>rnn(wtt)</i> <i>ḥnsw</i> <i>[ḥnt ḥt]ij?</i> <i>jpt ḥmt</i> <i>r' hr šhty</i> <i>wp rnpt</i>	<i>th</i> <i>jp(?)</i> <i>hwt hr</i>

¹ Found in documents from Deir el-Medina. The names in these documents correspond on the whole to those of list (6).

² Amonrasonter ("Amon-Re King of the Gods") is ityphallic and therefore associated here with the god Min (*mn*).

³ *Jpt* is followed by Gardiner-sign H8, whose reading is uncertain. At all events, *ipy ḥmt.s* can be found in dedicatory inscriptions from the same temple quoted below.

From the 12th century BCE several celebrations begin with the expression *p n* "the one" is at the origin of Greek transcriptions in Pa- or Pha-:

Egyptian month	Month's name:			pap. Ebers	
	[in Greek]	[in Egyptian]			
				<i>Wpt-rnpt</i>	1
I Akhet	<i>Thoth</i>	<i>Dhwtj</i>	1	<i>Th</i>	2
II "	<i>Phaophi</i>	<i>P3n-ipt</i>	2	<i>Mnht</i>	3
III "	<i>Hathyr</i>	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	3	<i>Ht-hr</i>	4
IV "	<i>Khoiak</i>	<i>K3hrk3</i>	4	<i>K3hrk3</i>	5
I Peret	<i>Tybi</i>	<i>T3'3bt</i>	5	<i>Šfb-dt</i>	6
II "	<i>Mecheir</i>	<i>[P3n]-Mḥr</i>	6	<i>Rkḥ [wr]</i>	7
III "	<i>Phamenoth</i>	<i>P3n-imnhtp</i>	7	<i>Rkḥ [nds]</i>	8
IV "	<i>Pharmuthi</i>	<i>P3n-Rnnwt</i>	8	<i>Rnnwt</i>	9
I Shemu	<i>Pakhons</i>	<i>P3n-Ḥnsw</i>	9	<i>Ḥnsw</i>	10
II "	<i>Payni</i>	<i>P3n-Int</i>	10	<i>Ḥnty-ḥty</i>	11
III "	<i>Epiphi</i>	<i>Ip-ip</i>	11	<i>'Ipt-ḥmt</i>	12
IV "	<i>Mesore</i>	<i>Mswtr'</i>	12		

We note that all the lists of lunar months end with the opening of the year (*wꜥ rnpt*) except the Ebers papyrus³⁰³, which would constitute an exception³⁰⁴. In addition, this exception would contradict the Egyptian theology because time cycles are perceived in the same mode: the year, month and day end when they die to be reborn and renewed³⁰⁵. Cycle of life is thus closely related to a cosmic cycle of "millions of years" according to an immutable process: life, death and regeneration. The pharaoh when he dies is reborn in the divine cosmos. This concept permeates all aspects of life: the religious year reborn when the star Sirius rises³⁰⁶, the day begins when the sun rises at dawn and the month begins again when the moon is full (the eye Wedjat is completed and the body of Osiris is regrouped or resurrected). The year reborn, too, at the last month of Mesore "birth of the sun." Thus, for the Egyptians each cycle ends with an opening for regeneration or rebirth, which is its apotheosis (the Egyptians have synchronized these cycles on the Sothic rising, thus the 1st hour of the day begins about 40 minutes before sunrise, not at sunrise).

period	earthly cycle (secular)		celestial cycle (religious)	
	life	death	regeneration	apotheosis
[solar] day	12 hours of the day	sunset	12 hours of night	1 st hour of the day Sunrise
[lunar] month	16 days of the cycle (decreasing)	new moon	14 days of the cycle (increasing)	Day 15 full moon
[agricultural] year (Nile flooding)	6 months (of days decreasing)	winter solstice	6 month (of days increasing)	epagomenal days summer solstice
[gods] year (cosmic, 360 days)	29 decans of visibility (290 days)	Sothic setting	7 decans of invisibility (70 days)	Sothic rising

Egyptian funerary rites have been inspired by these cosmic cycles. "Regeneration" is the primary meaning of the word *rnpt* "year". This conception is clearly stated in a papyrus: *May his body rejuvenate, that all its members live again, that it unites to the horizon with its father Ra, may its ba appears in the sky as moon disk; make him slept as Orion in the belly of Nut, make him come back as it was before*³⁰⁷. Egyptians have paralleled these cycles. Osiris, for example, spent 70 days in the underworld as Sirius reappeared in heaven 70 days after his disappearance. Mummification of a dead lasted 70 days according to Herodotus (The Histories II:86-88), to reproduce the rebirth of Sirius after his disappearance from the sky. Dead reborn as Osiris who had been regrouped or like the eye of Horus (the moon) which was reconstituted in 14 days by Thot. Because of its regenerative role, Thot is god of dead (for resurrection), it is likened to the moon regenerated which replaces the sun, symbol of life, reborn after the 12 hours of the night, a dark period symbol of death³⁰⁸. This symbolism also explains why the Egyptians were never interested in the waning phase of the moon (or eclipses), but only in its growing phase of 14 days, symbol of rebirth in the 15th day.

The purpose of the Egyptian lunar calendar was not dating, because this function was already vested in the civil calendar, but to allow the necessary rituals necessary to regeneration or cosmic rebirth. So there are links with the civil calendar, but not equivalence. The profane day begins at sunrise whereas the religious day begins at Sothic

³⁰³ L. DEPUYDT - Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt
Leuven 1997 Ed. Uitgevers Peeters p. 116.

³⁰⁴ L. DEPUYDT - The Two Problems of the Month Names
in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 50 (1999) pp. 107-133.

³⁰⁵ P. WALLIN - Celestial Cycle. Astronomical Concept of Regeneration
Uppsala 2002 Ed. Uppsala University pp 10-14.

³⁰⁶ N. BEAUX - Sirius, étoile et jeune Horus
in: *Homages à Jean Leclant* Vol. 1 Éd. IFAO 1994 pp. 68,69.

³⁰⁷ F.R. HERBIN - La renaissance d'Osiris au temple d'Opet
in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 54 (2003) 68-121.

³⁰⁸ P. BOYLAN - Thoth the Hermes of Egypt
Chicago 1987 Ed. Ares Publishers pp. 83-87,136-141.

rising. The calendar year lasts 365 days and starts at I Akhet 1 while the religious year begins at Sothic rising and lasts 365.25 days. Calendar month lasts 30 days, while religious month only lasts 15 days (representing the waxing phase of the moon), the lunar month of 29 or 30 days ends on the full moon.

The Ebers Papyrus would be an incomprehensible exception unless one assumes that this list of lunar and calendar months is actually a series of double dates. By comparing the lunar cycle of 25 years deducted from Louvre Papyrus 7848 on notices that the presence of two identical lunar month "Thot" occurs only at the beginning of the cycle. In this case the previous date should be: *II Shemu 9 [Lunar]/ epagomenal - [civil]* which is a problem since there is no correspondent month "epagomenal". Comparing the list of double dates papyrus Louvre 7848 shows that the one preceding the cycle of 25 years with a lunar II Shemu is the pair: *II Shemu 9 [Lunar]/ 14 Shemu III [civil]* corresponding to the pair: *II Shemu 1 [psdntyn]/ 6 Shemu III [civil]*, 8 days earlier.

year	lunar cycle	papyrus Louvre 7848		papyrus Ebers		
		Lunar day	Egyptian date	Lunar day	Egyptian date	
9	25	II Shemu 1	III Shemu 6	IV Peret 9	III Shemu -	11
		II Shemu 9	III Shemu 14			
		III Shemu 1	IV Shemu 6	I Shemu 9	IV Shemu -	12
		IV Shemu 1	epagomenon 5	II Shemu 9	epagomenon -	[5]
10	1	I Akhet 1	I Akhet 1	III Shemu 9	"Thoth" -	1
		II Akhet 1	I Akhet 30	IV Shemu 9	Thoth -	1
		III Akhet 1	II Akhet 30	I Akhet 9	Paophi -	2
		IV Akhet 1	III Akhet 29	II Akhet 9	Hathyr -	3
		I Peret 1	IV Akhet 29	III Akhet 9	Khoiak -	4
		II Peret 1	I Peret 28	IV Akhet 9	Tybi -	5
		III Peret 1	II Peret 28	I Peret 9	Mecheir -	6
		IV Peret 1	III Peret 27	II Peret 9	Phamenoth -	7
		I Shemu 1	IV Peret 27	III Peret 9	Pharmuthi -	8
		II Shemu 1	I Shemu 26	IV Peret 9	Pakhons -	9
		III Shemu 1	II Shemu 25	I Shemu 9	Payni -	10
		IV Shemu 1	III Shemu 25	II Shemu 9	Epiphi -	11

The scribe of the papyrus Ebers has condensed his information, but the reading of the first and last line is astronomically exact, since the beginning of the document reads: *Year 9 of Amenhotep I, III Shemu [civil], lunar day 9 [psd meaning lunar day 1] rising of Sirius*, and at the end: *Epiphi [III Shemu civil] is lunar II Shemu 9 [Epoch replaces the word Shemu] rising of Sirius*.

Reign	Event	Julian calendar	Lunar date	Civil date
year 9 month 3 season 3	Full moon	3 July -1496	II Shemu 1	Epiphi 6
	Summer solstice	6 July -1496	II Shemu 4	Epiphi 9
	Sothic rising	11 July -1496	II Shemu 9	Epiphi 14
year 10 month 1 season 1	Beginning of lunar cycle of 25 years	1 September -1496	I Akhet 1	Thoth 1
		9 September -1496	I Akhet 9	Thoth 9

This dating year 9 in -1496, place the accession of Amenhotep I in 1505 BCE, and actually corresponds to the sum of the reigns from Thutmose III (1505 = 1472 + 12 years + 9 months + 20 years + 7 months). The double date: *II Shemu 1 [lunar]/ III Shemu 6 [civil]* is placed in a 25-year cycle that begins at *I Akhet 1 [lunar]/ I Akhet 1 [civil]*, corresponding to the full moon³⁰⁹ of September 7, 1521 BCE and then to September 1, 1496 BCE.

³⁰⁹ http://www.imcce.fr/fr/grandpublic/phenomenes/phases_lune/index.php

DETERMINING THE REIGN OF AMENHOTEP I

Amenhotep I being dead on III Peret 21 (accession of Thutmose I) and having reigned 20 years, 7 months [and x days], according to Manetho, the date of accession should either up to IV Shemu 25 (if $x = 0$), or III Shemu to 26 (if $x = 29$). Therefore the III Shemu 14 belongs to the last month of the 9th year of his reign. Reign of Amenhotep I according to the lunar cycle:

	regnal year	lunar cycle	AKHET				PERET				SHEMU				(5)
			I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	
			Sep.	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	
1534	11	12	2	1	1/30	30	30	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	
1533	1	13	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	
1532	2	14	10	9	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4
1531	3	15	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	
1530	1	16	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	
1529	2	17	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2
1528	3	18	26	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	
1527	4	19	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	
1526	5	20	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1/30	30	
1525	6	21	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	
1524	7	22	13	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	
1523	8	23	3	2	2	1	1/30	30	30	29	29	28	28	27	
1522	9	24	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	
1521	10	25	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	
1520	11	1	1/30	30	29	29	28	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	
1519	12	2	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	
1518	13	3	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3
1517	14	4	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	23	
1516	15	5	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	
1515	16	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1
1514	17	7	25	25	24	24	23	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	
1513	18	8	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	
1512	19	9	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1/30	30	29	29	28	
1511	20	10	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	
1510	21	11	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	
1509	22	12	2	1	1/30	30	30	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	
1508	23	13	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	
1507	24	14	10	9	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4
1506	25	15	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	
1505	1	16	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	
1504	2	17	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2
1503	3	18	26	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	
1502	4	19	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	
1501	5	20	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1/30	30	
1500	6	21	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	
1499	7	22	13	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	
1498	8	23	3	2	2	1	1/30	30	30	29	29	28	28	27	
1497	9	24	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	
1496	10	25	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	
1495	11	1	1/30	30	29	29	28	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	
1494	12		2	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	

		Sequenre Taa
		Kamose
		Ahmose
		Amenhotep I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE 12TH DYNASTY

The Sothic rising, dated IV Peret 16 in year 7 of Senwosret III, can be dated around 1850 BCE by astronomy because at that time the Sothic rising took place July 11 in Thebes (longitude 32° 39' E, latitude 25° 42' N) and 15/16 July in Memphis (longitude 31° 15' E, latitude 29° 52' N), which fixes the heliacal rising of Sirius either in 1849 BCE +/- 4 years in Thebes or 1865 BCE +/- 4 in Memphis³¹⁰. The *arcus visionis* should be 8.3° instead of 8.5° because around 1850 BCE the angle between the Sun and Sirius at its rising was a little higher than today.

<i>arcus visionis</i> 8.3°	Sothic rising (IV Peret 16)	year 7 of Senwosret III	year 1 of Senwosret III
Memphis (29°52')	15 July	1865-1862	1872-1869
Thebes (25°42')	11 July	1849-1846	1855-1852
Elephantine (24°)	9 July	1841-1838	1848-1845

It is possible to refine this dating using numerous lunar dates³¹¹ that span during the 19 years of the reign of Senwosret III, followed by the 45 years of Amenemhat III and which fit according to the lunar cycle of 25 years (dates highlighted hereafter)³¹². They are offset by 1 day compared with those of Parker who translated the word "until" in an inclusive meaning and not exclusive³¹³. The few irregularities prove that it is observed cycles and not calculated cycles³¹⁴. The 19-year reign of Senwosret III precede the 45 years of Amenemhat III, his successor, without official co-regency³¹⁵.

The lunar dates enable to choose between Thebes and Memphis. The lunar cycle of 25 years starting at I Akhet 1 and the full moon³¹⁶ on November 30, 1857 BCE, the Sothic rising of Year 7 dated in 1848 BCE is the only one located in a calculated area for Sothic rising (1849-1846). The one dated 25 years earlier (1865-1862) does not fit in the previous cycle (starting December 6, 1882 BCE), unless accepting 1 day of error on all lunar dates (lunar cycle of 25 years starting at I Akhet 2* in november 1871).

The Sothic rising of year 7 of Senwosret III coincided with a 1st lunar crescent (dated July 11, 1848 BCE), which may have been a remarkable event, worthy of notice (the IV Peret 1 coinciding with the full moon of June 26, 1848 BCE). The Sothic rising of Senwosret III was thus observed at Thebes. Astronomy fixing the year 7 of Senwosret III in 1848 BCE it is possible to date the 12th dynasty through the duration of the reigns (known for this period, reigns starting to year 0) were represented in the table after:

Colour legend	Meaning
	Date of first lunar day in the (civil) calendar.
*	Date of first lunar day shifted by 1 day compared to the theoretical cycle.
	Calculated area of the heliacal rising of Sirius.
	Day dated IV Peret 1 year 7 of Senwosret III.
	Reign of Senwosret III
	Reign of Amenemhat III

³¹⁰ <http://www.imcce.fr/fr/grandpublic/phenomenes/sothis/index.php>

³¹¹ R.A. PARKER - The Calendars of Ancient Egypt

in: *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* N°26 (1950) Ed. University of Chicago pp. 63-67.

³¹² U. LUFT – Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches

Wien 1992 Ed. Akademie der Wissenschaften pp. 150,151.

R. KRAUSS - Arguments in Favor of a Low Chronology for the Middle and New Kingdom

in: *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern* (M. Bietak 2003) pp. 175-197

³¹³ L.E. ROSE – The Astronomical Evidence for Dating the End of the Middle Kingdom

in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 53 (1994) pp. 247,248.

³¹⁴ Lunar date I Akhet 19, year 31 of Amenemhat III, is wrong because it would involve a 31-day month, this date should be corrected in I Akhet 20.

³¹⁵ C. OBSOMER - Sésostriis Ier. Étude chronologique et historique du règne

Bruxelles 1995 Éd. Connaissance ancienne de l'Égypte p. 149.

³¹⁶ http://www.imcce.fr/fr/grandpublic/phenomenes/phases_lune/index.php

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO AN ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY
THROUGH SYNCHRONISMS DATED BY ASTRONOMY

	(2)	(1)		AKHET				PERET				SHEMU				5
				I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	
				Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	
	1882	1857														
	1881	1856		1	1	30	29	29	28	28	27	27	26	26	25	25
	1880	1855	0	2	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14
Senwosret III	1879	1854	1	3	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	6	5	5	4	4
	1878	1853	2	4	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	23
	1877	1852	3	5	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12
	1876	1851	4	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
	1875	1850	5	7	25	25	24	24	23	23	23	22	22	21	21	20
	1874	1849	6	8	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	10
	1873	1848	7	9	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	30	29	29	28
	1872	1847	8	10	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18
	1871	1846	9	11	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	9	9	8	8	7
	1870	1845	10	12	2	1	1	30	30	29	28	28	27	27	27	26
	1869	1844	11	13	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	15
	1868	1843	12	14	10	9	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	5	5
	1867	1842	13	15	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24
	1866	1841	14	16	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	14	13
	1865	1840	15	17	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2
	1864	1839	16	18	26	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	22	22	21
	1863	1838	17	19	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11
	1862	1837	18	20	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	30
	1861	1836	19	21	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19
Amenemhat III	1860	1835	1	22	13	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	9	9	8
	1859	1834	2	23	3	2	2	1	1	1	30	29	29	28	28	27
	1858	1833	3	24	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	18	17	17
	1857	1832	4	25	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6
		1831	5	1	1	30	29	29	28	28	27	27	26	26	25	25
		1830	6	2	19	19	18	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14
		1829	7	3	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	6	5	5	4	4
		1828	8	4	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	23
		1827	9	5	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12
		1826	10	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
		1825	11	7	25	25	*25	24	23	23	23	22	22	21	21	20
		1824	12	8	15	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	10
		1823	13	9	4	4	3	3	2	2	1	1	30	29	29	28
		1822	14	10	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18
		1821	15	11	12	12	11	11	10	10	10	9	9	8	8	7
		1820	16	12	2	1	1	30	30	29	28	28	27	27	27	26
		1819	17	13	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	17	17	16	16	15
		1818	18	14	10	9	9	9	8	8	7	7	6	6	5	5
		1817	19	15	29	28	28	27	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24
		1816	20	16	18	18	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	14	13
		1815	21	17	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2
		1814	22	18	26	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	22	22	21
		1813	23	19	16	15	15	14	14	14	13	13	12	12	11	11
		1812	24	20	*6	5	4	4	3	3	*3	2	1	1	1	30
		1811	25	21	24	24	23	23	22	22	21	21	20	20	19	19
		1810	26	22	13	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	10	9	9	8
		1809	27	23	3	2	2	1	1	1	30	29	29	28	28	27
		1808	28	24	22	21	21	20	20	19	19	18	18	18	17	17
		1807	29	25	11	11	10	10	9	9	8	8	*8	7	6	6
		1806	30	1	1	30	29	29	28	28	27	27	26	26	25	25
		1805	31	2	19	*20	*19	*19	18	*18	17	*17	16	15	15	14
		1804	32	3	9	*9	8	7	7	6	6	6	5	5	4	4
		1803	33	4	28	27	27	26	26	25	25	24	24	23	23	23
		1802	34	5	17	17	16	16	15	15	14	14	13	13	12	12
		1801	35	6	6	6	6	5	5	4	4	3	3	2	2	1
		1800	36	7	25	25	24	24	23	23	23	22	22	21	21	20

CHRONOLOGY OF THE 13TH AND 17TH DYNASTIES

The reign of Senwosret III (1855-1836) enables an anchoring of the chronology of the 12th dynasty obtained from the following documents³¹⁷:

Pharaoh	Turin King List	Highest date	Manetho	Length of reign	Reign
12 th Dynasty					1975-1778
Amenemhat I	[-]9	30	16	29 years	1975-1946
Senwosret I	45	45	46	45 years	1946-1901
Amenemhat II	3[-]	35	38	38 years	1901-1863
Senwosret II	1[-]	8	48	8 years	1863-1855
Senwosret III	19 ?	19	8	19 years	1855-1836
Amenemhat III	4[-]	46	8	45 years	1836-1791
Amenemhat IV	9 years 4 m. 27 d.	9	8	9 years 4 m. 27 d.	1791-1782
Neferusebek	3 years 10 m. 24 d.	3	4	3 years 10 m. 24 d.	1782-1778
Total:	213 years 1 m. 16 d.		176	197 years	
13 th Dynasty					1778 -
14 th Dynasty					
15 th Dynasty					
16 th Dynasty					
17 th Dynasty					-1530
18 th Dynasty			260		1530-1295

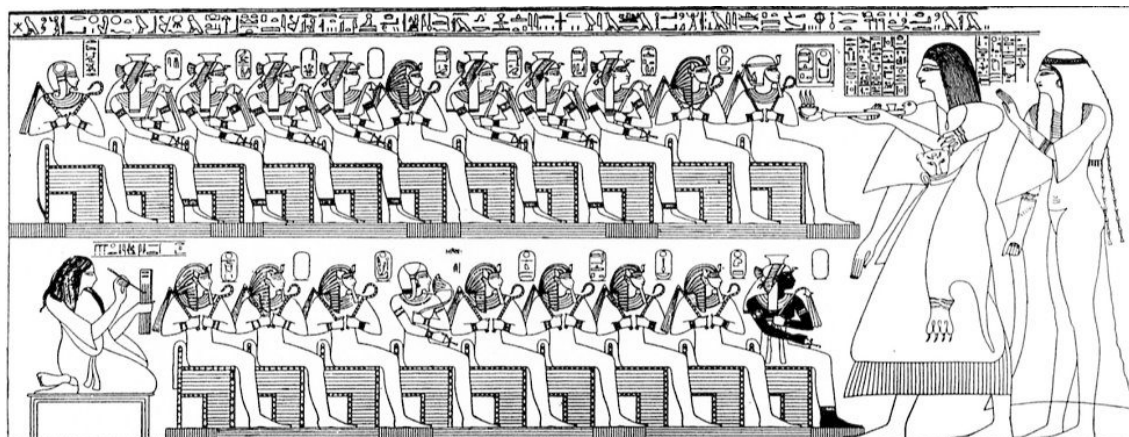
The 13th Dynasty presents many problems³¹⁸, not just from the point of view of genealogical reconstruction, but also from that of the very royal succession. The key source is the Turin Canon — a Ramesside compilation of royal names, successions and reign lengths — although analysis is hampered by the badly damaged state of the surviving papyrus copy. Although our knowledge can be augmented by contemporary monuments, there remain many gaps and uncertainties in the various reconstructions that have been put forward, with no real consensus on some of the more opaque parts of the dynasty. A feature of the nomina of a number of the kings of the 13th Dynasty is their length and formulation, a good example being 'Ameny-Inyotef-Amen-emhat'. It is now becoming recognized that such 'names' actually contain the name of the king himself, together with that of his father and, in cases such as this, his grandfather as well. We should thus read here: 'Amenemhat (VI), (son of) Inyotef, ([grand]son of) Amen (= Amenemhat V)'; this kind of arrangement is known as a 'filiative nomen', and is thus of very considerable help in reconstructing the notoriously opaque genealogy of the dynasty. On the other hand, a further suggestion that any king without such a form of nomen should be judged to be without royal ancestry and thus a 'usurper' is certainly stretching the material too far. Using the criteria of their nomina, the first two kings of the dynasty, Sobekhotep I and Sonbef ('Amenemhat-Sobekhotep' and 'Amenemhat-Sonbef' respectively), are probably to be recognized as the sons of Amenemhat IV, penultimate ruler of the 12th Dynasty. In support of the suggestion that Amenemhat IV was of non-royal birth, there is the fact that the previously untitled mother of the Overseer of the Fields Ankhu A suddenly became a King's Sister late in the 12th Dynasty, suggesting that her royal brother had not previously been a King's Son. The 13th Dynasty seems to have around 61 kings.

Some lists of Pharaohs appear in few tombs but its ranking is sometimes surprising. For example, on the scene called "Lords of the West" from Inherkau's tomb (TT359) we see on top row from right then on bottom row from right:

³¹⁷ C. VANDERSLEYEN - L'Egypte et la vallée du Nil Tome 2
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 43-122.

³¹⁸ A. DODSON, D. HYLTON – The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt
London 2010 Ed. Thames & Hudson Ltd, pp. 100-129.

- 1) King Amenhotep I, 2) King Ahmose I, 6) King Siamun A, 11) Crown Prince Ahmose Sapaïr
1) Ahmes-Nefertiry, 2) King Ramses I, 3) King Mentuhotep II, 4) King Amenhotep II, 5) King Taa Seqenenre, 6) Crown prince Ra(?)mose, 7) King Ramses IV, 8) King unknown, 9) King Thutmose I.



It is assumed that the 17th dynasty is a continuation of the 13th dynasty. Its reconstruction is easier, however, the order of its 9 kings remains controversial³¹⁹. As there were 50 kings in the 13th Dynasty and 9 kings in the 17th, the average duration of a each reign is approximately 4 years = $(1778 - 1530)/(50 + 9)$. As we know the duration of the last two reigns (3 years for Kamose and 11 years Seqenenre Taa), the 17th dynasty had to start in 1572 (= $1530 + 3 + 11 + 7 \times 4$). The average of 4 years may be adjusted based on the number of dated documents and highest dates³²⁰:

	17 th Dynasty		highest date	[Adjusted duration]	Reign
1	Rahotep	Sekhemra-wahkhau		[3 years]	1572-1568
2	Sobekemsaf I	Sekhemra-Shedtawy		[2 years]	1568-1566
3	Sobekemsaf II	Sekhemra-wadjkhau	7	[10 years]	1566-1556
4	Antef VI	Sekhemra-wepmaat		[2 years]	1556-1554
5	Antef VII	Nubkheperre	3	[9 years]	1554-1545
6	Antef VIII	Sekhemra-Heruhmaat	0	-	1545-1545
7	Ahmose (Iahmes)	Senakhtenre		[1 year]	1545-1544
8	Taa	Seqenenre	11	11 years	1544-1533
9	Kamose	Wadjkheperre	3	2 years 11 months	1533- 1530
	18 th Dynasty				
1	Ahmose	Nebpehtyre		25 years 4 months	1530-1505

The chronology of the 13th dynasty (1778-1472) is much more uncertain, because the position of the first 35 kings is approximate and the last 15 kings are not identifiable in the present state of documentation. The choice made here is that of Aidan Dodson who rearranged the Turin King List based on genealogical links between kings. Unknown durations have been replaced by an average value of 4 years, except for kings No. 7 to 10 because Nebnuni and Iufeni having left no relics³²¹ we can assume that their reigns were short. The reign of Sihornedjherkef Hotepibre having several prestigious relics, we can assume that he easily exceed the average of 4 years. In addition, there are two synchronisms with Byblos Rulers (Yakin-el and Yantin-Ammu) and a King of Mari (Zimri-Lim) that allows verifying the reliability of the chronological anchorage.

³¹⁹ D. POLZ – New Archaeological Data from Dra' Abu el-Naga and their Historical Implications in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 343-352.

³²⁰ K.S.B. RYHOLT – The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1500 B.C. Copenhagen 1997, Ed. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications Vol. 20 pp. 203-204.

³²¹ S. QUIRKE – Ways to Measure Thirteen Dynasty Royal Power from Inscribed Objects in: The Second Intermediate Period (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 192, 2010) pp. 55-68.

n°	13 th Dynasty		Vizier	Length	Reign
1	Sobkhotep I	Sekhemrekhutawy	‘Ankhu	3+ years	1778-1775
2	Sonbef	Sekhemkare	Khemenes	4+ years	1775-1771
3	-	Nerikare	?	6 years	1771-1765
4	Amenemhet V	Sekhemkare	?	4? years	1765-1761
5	Qemaw	-	?	[4 years]	1761-1757
6	Amenemhet VI	Sankhibre	?	[4 years]	1757-1753
7	Nebnuni	Semenkare	?	[- year]	1753-1753
8	Iufeni	-	?	[- year]	1753-1753
9	Sihornedjherkef	Hotepibre	14 th Dynasty	[12 years]	1753-1741
10	-	Sewadjkare	?	[2 years]	1741-1739
11	-	Nedjemibre	?	7 months	1739-1739
12	Sobkhotep II	Khaankhre	?	6+ years	1739-1733
13	Reniseneb	-	?	4 months	1733-1733
14	Hor I	Awibre	?	[4 years]	1733-1729
15	Amenemhet VII	Sedjefakare	?	7 years	1729-1722
16	Wegaf	Khutawyre	?	2 years 3 months	1722-1720
17	Khendjer	Woserkare	?	4+ years	1720-1716
18	Imyremeshaw	Semenkhkare	?	[4 years]	1716-1712
19	Antef V	Sehotepkare	?	[4 years]	1712-1708
20	Seth	Meribre	?	3+ years	1708-1705
21	Sobkhotep III	Sekhemrenewadjet	Iymeru	4 years 2 months	1705-1701
22	Neferhotep I	Khasekhemre	Iymeru	11 years 4? months	1701-1690
23	Sihathor	Menwadjet	Iymeru	1+ month	1690-1690
24	Sobkhotep IV	Khaneferre	Iymeru	8+ years	1690-1682
25	Sobkhotep V	Merhotepre	15 th Dynasty	[4 years]	1682-1678
26	Sobkhotep VI	Khahotepre		4 years 8 months	1678-1673
27	Ibiaw	Wahibre		10 years 8 months	1676-1665
28	Aya	Merneferre		13? years 8 months	1665-1652
29	Ini I	Merhotepre		2 years 4? months	1652-1650
30	Sewadjet	Sankhenre		3 years 2+ months	1650-1647
31	Ined	Mersekhemre		3 years 1 month	1647-1644
32	Hori	Sewadjkare		5 years	1644-1639
33	Sobkhotep VII	Merkawre		2 years	1639-1637
34	Ini II	-		[4 years]	1637-1633
35	Neferhotep II	-		[4 years]	1633-1629
36	-	-		[4 years]	1629-1625
37	-	-		[4 years]	1625-1621
38	-	-		[4 years]	1621-1617
39	-	-		[4 years]	1617-1613
40	-	-		[4 years]	1613-1609
41	-	Mer[...]re		[4 years]	1609-1605
42	-	Merkheperre		[4 years]	1605-1601
43	-	Merkare		[4 years]	1601-1597
44	-	-		[4 years]	1597-1593
45	Mentuhotep V	Sewdjare		[4 years]	1593-1589
46	Ibi	[...]maatre		[4 years]	1589-1585
47	Hor(..?)	[...]webenre		[4 years]	1585-1581
48	-	Se[...]kare		[4 years]	1581-1577
49	Sankhtahi	Seheqenre		[4 years]	1577-1573
50	Senebmiu	-		[4 years]	1573-1569

It is difficult to assess the accuracy about those periods of reigns (for the first 35 kings), but a value around +/- 10 years would seem reasonable. There are several synchronisms between the Egyptian kings and the Byblos Rulers³²² for which the duration is based only on assumptions. Assuming an exact contemporaneity, the death of Abi-Shemu had to occur around 1790 BCE (death of Amenemhat III). The living conditions of

³²² P. GERSTENBLITH – The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age
Winona Lake 1983 Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 101-107.

Byblos Rulers at the time of these Egyptian kings being quite similar it can be assumed a period of about 25 years of reign (= 197/8). The historical sequence³²³ is: 1) Abi-Shemu I (Tomb I), 2) Ipy-Shemu-Abi (Tomb II), 3) Yakin-el (Tomb III), a contemporary of Sihornedjherkef Hotepibre, and 4) Ilimi-Yapi (Tomb IV). Yatin-Ammu's father was Yakin. One can also assume that Neferhotep I was contemporary of Yantin-Ammu since was found at Byblos a relief showing Pharaoh Neferhotep I³²⁴ opposite Prince Yantin-(‘Ammu) of Byblos. In addition, in a letter dated the 9th year of Zimri-Lim (1680-1667), king of Mari, the name Yantin-Ammu appears as the donor of a gold cup. The following chronological reconstruction shows that the agreement is good for +/- 10 years.

Tomb	King of Byblos	Reign		King of Egypt	Reign	#	King of Mari	Reign
I	Abi-Shemu	1815-1790	[25]	Amenemhat III	1836-1791	45	?	
II	Ipy-Shemu-Abi	1790 - -1765	[25]	Amenemhat IV	1791-1782	9	?	
				Neferusebek	1782-1778	4	?	
III	Yakin-el	1765-1740	[25]	[Hotepibre	1753-1741	[12]	?	
IV	Ilimi-yapi ?	1740-1720	[20]				?	
	Yakin?	1720 - -1695	[25]	Seth	1708-1705		Yahdun-Lîm	1716 - -1699
				Sobekhotep III	1705-1701	4		
	Yantin-Ammu	1695 -	[25]	Neferhotep I	1701-1690	12	Sûmû-Yamam	1699-1697
				Sobekhotep IV	1690-1690	9	Samsî-Addu	1697-1687
				Sobekhotep V	1690-1682	5	Yasmah-Addu	1687-1680
				Sobekhotep VI	1682-1678	2	Zimri-Lîm	1680 - -1667
	?	-1670		Iaib	1678-1673	11		

CHRONOLOGY OF THE 14TH, 15TH AND 16TH DYNASTIES

Conspicuously few monuments of the 14th Dynasty are known today. The entire dynasty is represented by no more than about ten royal monuments and, except for two, all bear the name of Nehsy (either as king or king's son) who had a reign of less than one year according to the Turin King-list. This circumstance is difficult to reconcile with the fact that the 14th Dynasty was situated in the most fertile lands in Egypt and had intensive trade with both Canaan, Thirteenth Dynasty Egypt, and Nubia. Apart from scarabs and a few seal-impressions, the 14th Dynasty is attested outside the Turin King-list only by monuments of its second king, Nehsy, from the eastern Delta, none of which was found in precisely datable contexts. For its 51 or more rulers, the King-list preserves a total of 12 years, 2 months, and 23 days of rule in 18 entries, with no reign longer than three years³²⁵ (the five first rulers are lost). Thus the total duration of the 14th dynasty should be about 34 years (= 51x12/18). Several reigns have durations of only a few months which shows abnormal process. The first Asiatic king had to appear at the time of Hotepibre³²⁶ under the prenomen "the Asiatics, son of Hornedjherkef", Hornedjherkef (1753-1741) being a king of the 13th Dynasty. The last king of the 14th Dynasty had to coincide with the first king of the 15th Dynasty (the Great Hyksos)? According to the Jewish historian Artapan (around 200 BCE) quoted by Eusebius (Preparatio Evangelica IX:27:3-5) the region above Memphis was divided into various kingdoms under Pharaoh [Sobekhotep IV] Chenephres (1690-1682). The information is accurate, because the royal activities during the 13th dynasty are attested until the end Sobekhotep IV's reign, the most prestigious king of this dynasty, further in the north of Thebes rather than Thebes itself.

³²³ L. NIGRO – The Eighteen Century BC Princes of Byblos and Ebla and the Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age in: *Baal Hors-Série VI* (Beirut 2009) pp. 159-175.

³²⁴ Two Scarabs of Neferhotep I were also found at Tell el-Ajjul.

³²⁵ J.P. ALLEN – The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List in: *The Second Intermediate Period (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192, 2010)* pp. 1-6.

³²⁶ K.S.B. RYHOLT – Hotepibre, a Supposed Asiatic King in Egypt with Relations to Ebla in: *Bulletin of the American schools of Oriental Research* No. 311 (1998) pp. 1-6.

We can reconstruct the reign of the first five kings of the 14th dynasty using the number of seals and assuming a regular uttering each year (this method of counting is however uncertain, mainly for Sheshi)³²⁷. We obtain an average of c. 1 seal per month:

King of Egypt (14 th Dynasty)	Seals	duration	average	error
Yakbim Sekhaenre	123	5-16 years	10 years	+/- 5 years
Ya'ammu Nubwoserre	26	1-4 years	2 years	+/- 2 years
Qoreh Khawoserre	30	1-4 years	3 years]	+/- 2 years
'Ammu Ahotepre	62	2-8 years	5 years	+/- 3 years
Sheshi Maaibre	396	13-53 years	33 years	+/- 20 years
Total	637	22-85	53 years	

13 th Dynasty				Length	Reign
No.	[Si]horned]herkef Hotepibre	14 th Dynasty			(1753-1741)
1		[Yakbim]	[Sekhaenre]	[10 years]	1750-1740
2		[Ya'ammu]	[Nubwoserre]	[2 years]	1740-1738
3		[Qoreh]	[Khawoserre]	[3 years]	1738-1735
4		['Ammu]	[Ahotepre]	[5 years]	1735-1730
5		[Sheshi]	[Maaibre]	[33 years]	1730-1697
6		[Nehsy]	[Asehre]	[6 m.] 3 d.	1697-1697
7		[-]	Khakherewre	[6 m.] 3 d.	1697-1696
8		[-]	Nebefawre	1 year 6 m. 15 d.	1696-1694
9		[-]	Sehebre	[3 years] 1 d.	1694-1691
10		[-]	Merdjefare	[3 years]	1691-1688
11		[-]	Sewadjkare	1 year	1688-1687
12		[-]	Nebdjefare	1 year	1687-1686
13		[-]	Webenre	[6 m.]	1686-1686
14		[-]	[.....]	[1 year]	1686-1685
15		[-]	[...]djefare	4 m.	1685-1685
16		[-]	[...]webenre	3 m.	1685-1685
17		[-]	Awibre	1 m.? 18 d.	1685-1685
18		[-]	Heribre	1 m.? 29 d.	1685-1685
19		[-]	Nebsenre	5 m. 20 d.	1685-1684
20		[-]	[.....]	21-24 d.	1684-1684
21		[-]	Sekheperenre	2 m. 1-5 d.	1684-1684
22		[-]	Djedkherewre	2 m. 5 d.	1684-1684
23		[-]	Sankhibre	19 d.	1684-1684
24		[-]	Nefertumre	18 d.	1684-1684
25		[-]	Sekhem[...]re	[2 m.]	1684-1684
					1684-1680
45		[-]	[-]	[2 m.]	1680-1680
	Sobkhotep IV Khaneferre	15 th Dynasty			(1690-1682)

The 15th dynasty is better documented because its total duration is 10[8] years, according to the Turin King List or 106 years, according to Herodotus (The Histories II:128). The beginning of the dynasty is located towards Sobekhotep IV (1690-1682). The Stele of the year 400, made under Ramses II, apparently refers to the Sethian dynasty of the Great Hyksos, 400 years earlier. The Stele seems to have been made by Ramses to support an honorable affiliation with an ancient dynasty, because the cult of Seth, likened to the Baal of the Hyksos, was not widespread among the Egyptians. He seems to have connected

³²⁷ Obviously there is a considerable margin of error involved in such statistical calculations. This may be illustrated through King Ibiaw and his successor Aya (13th Dynasty), both of whose exact reign-lengths are preserved in the Turin King-list. Ibiaw ruled 11 years and is attested by 13 seals (average of c. 1 seal per year), while Aya ruled 24 (or 14) years and is attested by 63 seals (average of c. 2 ½ seals per year). Calculating the reign of Ibiaw by the average for Aya would suggest a reign of 5 years for Ibiaw (vs. an actual length of 11 years), and *vice versa* a reign of 52 ½ years for Aya (vs. an actual length of 24/14 years). However, since this approach seems at present to be the only means by which a rough idea of the individual reign-lengths of the first five 14th Dynasty kings can be achieved, it has nevertheless been pursued. Neferhotep I (11 years), Sobkhotep IV (min. 9 years), Ibiaw (11 years), Aya (24/14 years), Khyan (20/10 years), Apopi (40 years), and Nebiryrau (27 years): c. 288 seals and a total reign-length of more than 130 years.

his reign to his predecessor whose name Sethos I referred to the god Seth. The era of Ramses II would be a continuation of a prestigious past, which would place the establishment of the cult of Seth/Baal around 1680 BCE, if one counts from Ramses II's reign. In fact, Seth is completely absent from the titular of Ramses II and its worship appears only after the Battle of Kadesh and from the construction of the temple of Abu Simbel started in year 5 of his reign (in 1279 BCE).

13 th Dynasty			Length	Reign
Sobkhotep IV Khaneferre	No.	15 th Dynasty		
	1		[12 years]	1680 -
	2	[Šamqenu?]	[12 years]	
	3	[‘Aper-‘Anati?]	[12 years]	
	4	[Sakir-Har?]	[12 years]	
	5	[Khyan?]	20 [?] years	1632-1613
	6	Apopi	Aauserre	4[1 years?]
	-	Khamudi	Hotepibre	[1? year]
17 th Dynasty	No.	16 th Dynasty		
	1	?	[1 year]	1572-1571
	2	Djehuty	Sekhemresematawy	3 years
	3	Neferhotep III	Sekhemresankhtawy	1 year
	4	Mentuhotepi	Sankhenre	1 year
	5	Nebiriau I	Sewadjenre	16 [?] years
	6	Nebiriau II	-	[3m.]
	7	-	Semenre	[1 year]
	8	Bebiankh	Sewoserenre	12 years
	9	-	Sekhemreshedwaset	[3m.]
	10	Dedumose I	Djedhotepre	[3 years]
	11	Dedumose II	Djedneferre	[1 year]
	12	Mentuemsaf	Djedankhere	[1 year]
	13	Mentuhotep VI	Meryankhere	[1 year]
	14	Senwosret IV	Snefruibre	[1 year]
18 th Dynasty				

The chronology of the 16th dynasty (1572-1530) is conjectural³²⁸ because some kings of this dynasty could belong to the end of the 13th dynasty³²⁹. In fact the capital of the 16th Dynasty had to be Edfu (or El-Kab?) while that of the 13th dynasty was Thebes³³⁰. The only dated synchronisms with the Hyksos dynasties are those from the Israelite chronology:

13 th Dynasty		Israelite ruler	Reference	Length	Reign
1778 -					
	14 th Dynasty			(80)	
(1753-1741)	Asiatics	Joseph co-regent	Genesis 41:40-45	14	1758-1744
		Cattle princes	Genesis 47:6	66	1744 -
		Death of Joseph	Genesis 47:28		-1678
(1690-1682)	15 th Dynasty			(105)	
		Foolish princes of Tanis	Isaiah 19:11-13	65	1678 -
		Princes of her tribes			-1613
(1613-1573)	Apopi	Moses Pharaoh	Exodus 11:3	40	1613-1573
17 th Dynasty	16 th Dynasty				
		Moses alien resident in Madian	Acts 7:21-42	40	1573 -
(1533-1530)	Apopi (2)	then come back into Egypt			-1533
18 th Dynasty					
1530 -		Exodus	Exodus 16:35	40	1533-1493

³²⁸ A. DODSON, D. HYLTON – The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt
London 2010 Ed. Thames & Hudson Ltd, pp. 16-117.

³²⁹ M. DESSOUEIX – Chronique de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 2008 Éd. Actes Sud pp. 169-177, 226-235.

³³⁰ and regnal years on steles (like Sobekhotep VIII) are typical of Egyptian dynasties but they are absent among Hyksos dynasties.

DATING THE EXODUS ACCORDING TO THE ISRAELITE CHRONOLOGY

Every people of the past used its own calendar to count years, months and days. Israelites were not an exception, and they were concerned about accurately placing events on the time scale, as it can be proved by long genealogical lists and frequent recordings of how many years kings or judges ruled. Jews even considered that their book, the Bible, was laying down history and there was no need to write any other specific book. The only exception was the Seder Olam written around 160 C.E. This book mostly was an attempt to reconstruct biblical chronology, and it tried to solve a problem occurring each time one works on chronology: When does one particular period of time begin and when does it end? A scientific chronology must fill two basic standards: it must be consistent with itself and also with every key historical date (i.e. dates based on accurately dated astronomical phenomena). Such standards get rid of the inconsistent Septuagint based chronology on the period 1000-500 BCE³³¹ and the Seder Olam chronology which dates reigns of Persian kings about 170 years backwards (e.g. Cyrus would have begun ruling in 369 BCE and would have died in 367 BCE)³³². Current calculations of historical data are based on Thiele's biblical chronology which is about 45 years off near 900 BCE³³³.

As attested by Qumran texts, the Bible Masoretic text was very well preserved. This text is the one used to establish the scientific biblical chronology. Though it does not mention any astronomical phenomenon, it does mention reigns of several Egyptian, Babylonian and Persian rulers, as well as famous battles or the fall of well-known cities. This allows indirect comparisons with key dates. Moreover, the biblical text often contains a two-fold chronology: one by adding years of rules, and the other one by linking "anchor periods". These periods appear as spans (often hundreds of years) telling how much time elapsed between two major events. For example, Israelites were to be oppressed during 400 years (Genesis 15:13). According to the biblical text, this period begins with the persecution of Abraham's son Isaac (Genesis 21:8-9) and ends with the escape from Egypt and the end of slavery (Galatians 4:29).

Several important questions must be settled before any chronological calculation may be done: How long is a year, a month or a day? When does the year, the month or the day begin? Is the number of years inclusive or exclusive? For example, "the second year" of a rule may count for one year (if the second year is beginning) or for two years (if the second year is ending). At the very beginning of the Bible, time is already counted: *Let luminaries come to be in the expanse of the heavens to make a division between the day and the night; and they must serve as signs and for seasons and for days and years* (Genesis 1:14). Since the sun and the moon are mentioned, the year should be solar (365.24 days) and the months should be lunar (29.53 days). Only the beginning of the day is indicated: it began when the previous one ended (Genesis 1:5). The beginning of the year is not stated, but it should be synchronized with agricultural activity, which ended after the crop, before winter colds (Genesis 8:22). Old Mesopotamian calendars all started at autumn equinox; the first month, the one of the renewal, was called Tishri, which means "beginning". The biblical text says that from Exodus onward (approximately 1500 BCE) years no longer had to begin in Tishri but in Nisan (Exodus 12:2), at the spring equinox. Josephus (Jewish Antiquities I:81) confirms that the Jews used to count from Nisan for religious or solemn (royal) activities, but continued counting from Tishri for commercial activities.

³³¹ J. HUGHES – Secrets of the Times. Myth and History in Biblical Chronology in: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 66 (1990) pp. 57, 267-272.

F. NOLEN JONES – The Chronology of the Old Testament Texas 2005 Ed. Master Books pp. 170-173, 326.

³³² H. GOLDWURM, N. SCHERMAN - Daniel: la Bible commentée Paris 2001Éd. du Sceptre p. 334.

³³³ M.C. TETLEY – The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom Winona 2005 Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 178-186.

The first way to evaluate the accuracy of chronological data from the Bible is to compare the consistency of results between the chronologies of the kings of Judah and Israel. The biblical chronology according to the Masoretic text is as follows (King Hoshea died at the fall of Samaria in 720 BCE, King Josias died at the battle of Haran in 609 BCE):

Event	Period	#				Reference
Abraham in Ur	2038- 1963	75	From birth to departure into Canaan			Genesis 12:4-5
Israelites as foreigners	1963-1533	430	From Canaan stay to Egypt deliverance			Exodus 12:40-41
Exodus in Sinai	1533-1493	40	From Egypt deliverance to entering Canaan			Exodus 16:35
Israelites in Canaan	1493- 1013	480	From entering Canaan to year 4 of Solomon			1Kings 6:1
King of Judah	Reign		King of Israel	Reign		
Solomon	1017 - 977	40				1Kings 11:42
Rehoboam	977-960	17	Jeroboam I	10/977 -	22	1Kings 14:20,21
Abiyam	960-957	3		-05/955		
Asa	957 -	41	Nadab	06/955-05/954	2	1Kings 15:10,25
			Baasha	06/954-04/931	24	1Kings 15:28,33
			Elah	05/931-04/930	2	1Kings 16:8
			Zimri	05/930	7 d.	1Kings 16:10-16
			Omri/	06/930-05/919/	12	1Kings 16:21-23
	-916	[Tibni]	[06/930-01/925]	6		
Jehoshaphat	916 - -891	25	Ahab	06/919-01/898	22	1Kings 16:29
			Ahaziah	02/898-01/897	2	1Kings 22:51
Jehosaphat/Jehoram	[893-891]	[2]	Jehoram son Ahab	02/897-09/886	12	2Kings 3:1
Jehoram	893 - -885	8	[Ahaziah]/ Joram	[07/887-09/886]	1	2Kings 9:29
			Ahaziah	10/886-09/885	1	2Kings 9:24,27
[Athaliah] Jehoyada	885-879	6	Jehu	10/885-03/856	28	2Kings 10:36
Joash	879 - -839	40	Jehoahaz	04/856-09/839	17	2Kings 10:35; 13:1
			Jehoahaz/ Jehoash	[01/841-09/839]	2	2Kings 13:10
Amasiah	839 - -810	29	Jehoash	09/839-01/823	16	2Kings 13:10
			Jeroboam II	01/823-05/782	41	2Kings 14:23
Uzziah	810 -	52	[Zechariah]	06/782-02/771	[11]	2Kings 14:29
[Azariah]	[796 - -758		Zechariah	03/771-08/771	6 m.	2Kings 15:8
			Shallum	09/771	1 m.	2Kings 15:13
			Menahem	10/771-03/760	10	2Kings 15:17
			Peqayah	04/760-03/758	2	2Kings 15:23
Jotham	758-742	16	Peqah	04/758-05/738	20	2Kings 15:27
Ahaz	742-726	16	[Hoshea]	06/738-01/729	9	2Kings 15:27-30
Hezekiah	726-697	29	Hoshea	02/729-09/ 720	9	2Kings 17:1,3
Manasseh	697-642	55				2Kings 21:1
Amon	642-640	2				2Kings 21:19
Josias	640-609	31				2Kings 22:1
Jehoachaz	-609	3 m.				2Chronicles 36:2
Jehoiaqim	609-598	11				2Chronicles 36:5
Jehoiachin	-598	3 m.				2Chronicles 36:9
Zedekiah	598-587	11				2Chronicles 36:11
Jehoiachin (exile)	587-561	26				2Kings 25:27-28

The second way to evaluate the accuracy of chronological data from the Bible is to cross-check results. The Septuagint (LXX) was completed circa 160 BCE, the Masoretic Text (MT) c. 90 CE, the work of Flavius Josephus³³⁴ (FJ) c. 95 CE, that of Theophilus of Antioch³³⁵ (TA) c. 180 CE and the Jewish chronology of the Seder Olam³³⁶ (SO) is fixed c. 200 CE. Errors (highlighted with *) and corrections (highlighted):

³³⁴ E. NODÉ - Le Pentateuque de Josèphe
Paris 1996 Éd. Cerf pp. 72-83.

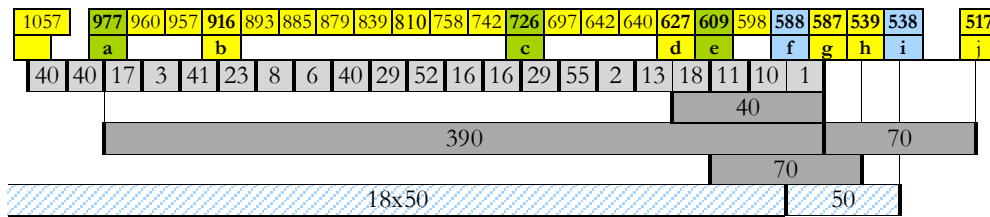
³³⁵ THEOPHILE D'ANTIOCHE – Trois livres à Autolycus
in: *Sources chrétiennes* 20 (1948 Cerf) pp. 49-53, 154-159.

³³⁶ H.W. GUGGENHEIMER – Seder Olam. The Rabbinic View of Biblical Chronology
Lanham 2005 Ed. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

Text of:	TM	LXX	FJ	TA	SO	period	reference
Abraham (<i>Ur=>Harran</i>)	75	75	75	75	75	2038-1963	Genesis 12:4-5
<i>journey Canaan-Egypt</i>	430	430	430	430	430	1963- 1533	Exodus 12:40-41
Moses (<i>Exodus</i>)	40	40	40	40	40	1533-1493	Exodus 16:35
Joshua	110 - 80	110 - 80	110 - 80	27	28	1493 -1463	Joshua 14:10;24:29
Without judge	[11]	[11]	18	-	0	1463-1452	Joshua 24:31
Total de 40 +/-1 =	41	41	48	27	28	<i>1493-1452</i>	Numbers 32:13
Cushan-rishataim	8	8	8	8	0	1452-1444	Judges 3:8
Othniel	40	40/50*	40	40	40	1444-1404	Judges 3:11
Eglon	18	18	18	18	18	1404-1386	Judges 3:14
Ehud	80	80	[80]	8*	80	1386-1306	Judges 3:30
Madian	7	7	7	7	7	1306-1299	Judges 6:1
Gedeon	40	40	40	40	40	1299-1259	Judges 8:28
Abimelek	3	3	3	3	3	1259-1256	Judges 9:22
Tola	23	23	[23]	23	23	1256-1233	Judges 10:2
Jair	22	22	22	22	22	1233-1211	Judges 10:3
Anarchia	18	18	18	18	18	1211- 1193	Judges 10:8
Total of 300 =	300	300	#	#	#	<i>1493-1193</i>	Judges 11:26,30
Jephte	6	6/60*	6	6	6	1193-1187	Judges 12:7
Ibzan	7	7	7	7	7	1187-1180	Judges 12:9
Elon	10	10	10	10	10	1180-1170	Judges 12:11
Abdon	8	[8]	[8]	8	8	1170-1162	Judges 12:14
[Eli] Philistines	40	20/40	40	40	40	1162-1122	1Samuel 4:18
Samson	20	20	20	20	20	1122-1102	Judges 16:31
Samuel's sons	[5]	[5]	12*	12*	10	1102-1097	1Samuel 8:1-3
Saul	[40]	[40]	20/40	20	3*	1097-1057	Acts 13:21
David	40	40	40	40	40	1057-1017	1Kings 2:11
Solomon (year 4)	4	4	4	4	4	1017- 1013	1Kings 6:1
Total of 480 =	480	440	474*	#	#	<i>1493-1013</i>	1Kings 6:1
Salomon	40	40	80	40	40	1017 - 977	1Kings 11:42
Rehoboam	17	17	17	17	17	977 -960	1Kings 14:21
Abiyam	3	6	3	7*	3	960-957	1Kings 15:2
Asa	41	41	41	41	41	957-916	1Kings 15:10
Jehosaphat	25 - 2	25 - 2	25 - 2	25 - 2	25 - 2	916-893	1Kings 22:42
Jehoram	8	10	8	8	8	893-885	2Kings 8:17
[Athaliah]	7 - 1	7 - 1	7 - 1	6	7+1	885-879	2Kings 11:4
Joash	40	40	40	40	40	879-839	2Kings 12:1-2
Amasiah	29	29	29	39*	22*	839-810	2Kings 14:2
Uzziah (Azariah)	52	52	52	52	52	810-758	2Kings 15:2
Jotham	16	16	16	16	16	758-742	2Kings 15:33
Ahaz	16	16	16	17*	16	742-726	2Kings 16:2
Hezekiah	29	29	29	29	29	726-697	2Kings 18:2
Manasseh	55	55	55	55	55	697-642	2Kings 21:1
Amon	2	2	2	2	2	642-640	2Kings 21:19
Josias	31	31	31	31	31	640-609	2Kings 22:1
Jehoiachim	11	11	11	11	11	609 -598	2Kings 23:36
Zedekiah	11	11	11	11	11	598- 587	2Kings 24:18
Total of 390 =	390	190	390	405*	385	<i>977-587</i>	Ezechiel 4:5-6
<i>Babylonian empire</i>	70	70	70	70	70	609- 539	Jeremiah 25:11-12

The biblical chronology according to the Masoretic text is therefore accurate. The chronology reconstituted in this chapter was starting from the Masoretic data. By convenience, the total period 2000-1 BCE was cut out in 4 periods: patriarchal period 2000-1500 BCE, period of the judges 1500-1000 BCE, period of the kings 1000-500 BCE and finally a period of the second temple 500-1 BCE. Each period arises in the following way (example of the patriarchal period):

THE PERIOD OF KINGS (1000-500 BCE)



- End of Solomon's 40-year reign (1Kings 11:42). The splitting of his kingdom in two parts (Israel and Judah) marks the start of a 390-year period that will end with the destruction of Jerusalem (see further, paragraph c). His successors will be Rehoboam: 17 years of reign (1Kings 14:21), Abijam: 3 years of reign (1Kings 15:1-2) and Asa: 41 years of reign (1Kings 15:9-10).
- Jehoshaphat ruled for 25 years (1Kings 22:41-42), but we must remove the 2-year coregency with his son Jehoram who became king in Jehoshaphat's 23rd year of reign, and not after the 25th year. This can be checked: Jehoram, king of Judah, who ruled for 8 years, became king in the 5th year of Jehoram, king of Israel (2Kings 8:16-17), whose rule had begun in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat (2Kings 3:1); 18 + 5 do amount to 23. After the death of Jehoram, king of Judah, Athaliah ruled for 6 years (2Kings 11:3), then Jehoash for 40 years (2Kings 12:1), Jehoahaz for 17 years (2Kings 13:1), Amasiah for 29 years (2Kings 14:2), Uzziah for 52 years (2Chronicles 26:3), Jotham for 16 years (2Kings 15:32-33), Ahaz for 16 years (2Kings 16:2), Hezekiah for 29 years (2Kings 18:1-2), Manasseh for 55 years (2Kings 21:1), Amon for 2 years (2Kings 21:19), and Josiah for 31 (= 13 + 18) years (2Kings 22:1).
- The fall of Samaria began in year 4 of Hezekiah (2Kings 18:9-10) and ended in his year 6 corresponding to year 2 of Sargon II (in 720 BCE).
- In Josiah's 13th year (Jeremiah 25:3,11), Jeremiah began proclaiming the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened 40 years later. This 40 years period, foretold in Ezekiel (Ezekiel 4:6), ends with the disappearance of the kingdom of Israel, that had been born 390 years before.
- Start of Babylonian's 70 years rule over all the nations. This rule starts at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign (Jeremiah 27:1-7), after the battle of Haran during which king Josiah was killed (2Kings 23:29), 4 years before the battle of Carkemish (Jeremiah 46:2), and it terminates with the destruction of Babylon. After Josiah's death, Jehoahaz ruled 3 months (2Kings 23:31). Jehoiakim, brought on the throne by pharaoh Necho, reigned for 11 years (2Kings 23:34,36), and afterwards Zedekiah, enthroned by Nebuchadnezzar reigned for 11 years (2Kings 24:17-18) until the destruction of the temple.
- In Zedekiah's 10th year (Jeremiah 32:1), because the people deliberately broke a Jubilee (Jeremiah 34:8-11), the temple was destroyed and they were deported to Babylon. The liberation that should have occurred at this Jubilee was postponed to the next one (Jeremiah 34:13-22).
- Destruction of the temple on the 10th day of the 5th month of Nebuchadnezzar's 18th year according to Babylonian computation (Jeremiah 52:12-13, 29).
- Destruction of Babylon in 539 after 70 years of slavery (Jeremiah 25:11-12).
- 1st year of Cyrus, the liberation from Babylon occurred.
- End of the 70-year desolation period and of the exile (from Babylonia, but also from Assyria and Egypt); beginning of a new 50-year Jubilee cycle³³⁷.

³³⁷ J.-F. LEFEBVRE - Le jubilé biblique
Göttingen 2003 Éd. Universitaires Fribourg pp. 369-370.

The year of Nebuchadnezzar's rule during which the temple was destroyed and the 70-year³³⁸ period began is controversial. To set the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's rule, it seems that the writer of Jeremiah's book, who lived under Egyptian and then Babylonian authority, used both a computation including the accession year (Egyptian system) and a computation not including the accession year (Babylonian system). This could explain several 1-year gaps. However, those dates can be fixed through a chronological reconstitution combining information given by other biblical writers and indications from Babylonian tablets (the start of the exile can be set between the 7th and the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar). Therefore, although Jeremiah's disconcerting dating sets the destruction of the temple in Zedekiah's 11th year, i.e. either in Nebuchadnezzar's 19th year (Egyptian computation) or in his 18th year, according to Babylonian computation (Jeremiah 52:12,29), it is of no consequence since this 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar is linked to Zedekiah's 10th year (Jeremiah 32:1). The 70-year period is abundantly described, and it first relates to Babylonian rule over all nations.

- According to the text of Jeremiah 25:1, 9-12, 17-26, Judea would be devastated, and all contemporary nations would serve the king of Babylon during 70 years: *The word that occurred to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah in the 4th year of Jeboiakim the son of Josiah, the king of Judah, that is, the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon (...). And all this land must become a devastated place, an object of astonishment, and these nations will have to serve the king of Babylon 70 years. And it must occur that when 70 years have been fulfilled I shall call to account against the king of Babylon and against that nation, (...) even against the land of the Chaldeans, and I will make it desolate wastes to time indefinite.* Then the Chaldeans' country would become desolated. It may be noted that this prediction was issued in the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar. Babylonian rule had already begun, but the devastation of Judah was still to come. The period of slavery was to begin before the period of desolation. The 70-year period of slavery applied to all the nations including Egypt, and not only to Judah. This period starts after the victory of Babylonian forces over the armies of Assyria and Egypt at Haran, and then extends from 609 to 539.
- *In the beginning of the kingdom of Jeboiakim the son of Josiah, the king of Judah (...). And now I myself have given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon (...). And all the nations must serve even him and his son and his grandson until the time even of his own land comes (...). And as for You men, do not listen to Your prophets (...) who are saying to You: "You men will not serve the king of Babylon (Jeremiah 27:1,6-9).* As the start of Jeboiakim's rule can be dated to Tishri 609, the period of slavery is the same for Judah as for other nations.
- *And it must occur in that day that Tyre must be forgotten 70 years, the same as the days of one king. At the end of 70 years it will happen to Tyre as in the song of a prostitute (...). And it must occur at the end of 70 years that Jehovah will turn his attention to Tyre, and she must return to her hire and commit prostitution with all the kingdoms of the earth upon the surface of the ground (Isaiah 23:15-17).* The 70-year Babylonian domination [from 609 to 539] outshined Tyre's position. Because Tyre had rejoiced over the fall of Jerusalem, it was foretold that the city would be attacked by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezekiel 26:1-12) and completely destroyed (Zechariah 9:4). Josephus states (Against Apion I:156; Jewish antiquities X:228) that the siege of the city of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar lasted 13 years [from 586 to 574]. Since Nebuchadnezzar received no "wages", a text by Ezekiel (Ezekiel 29:17-20) dated to the 27th year of exile [571] says that the Babylonian monarch would receive the wealth of Egypt as a compensation for 40 years. This inheritance may begin with the reign of pharaoh Amasis [569] and last till the end of Cyrus' rule (Isaiah 43:1,3) in 530. After the fall of Babylon, Tyre resumed its immoral business (Nehemiah 13:6, 15-17), but it was

³³⁸ *When the seventy years granted to Babylon are over* (Jeremiah 29:10, Jerusalem Bible, London 1974).

finally destroyed by Alexander the Great in 332. However, there is a controversy over one word of Jeremiah's text about the 70 years.

- *For thus said Jehovah, After 70 years are accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place (1947 Revised Standard Version).* Some translations use the words "70 years at Babylon (Jeremiah 29:10)" instead of "70 years for Babylon"³³⁹. This would mean that the Israelites dwelt in Babylon for 70 years. In the phrase "70 years for Babylon", the word "for" is used to translate the Hebraic particle *le* meaning "for, of (belonging to), to, toward (direction)". The translation "70 years at Babylon" is ambiguous, for the particle *le* commonly conveys the meaning of a direction (to, toward) and not of being "in" or inside. When "inside" is meant, the Hebrew language uses the particle *be*, as can be seen everywhere in Jeremiah's book. For example, *le* may be translated "I will send to [toward] Babylon (Jeremiah 51:2)", speaking of a direction, or "I will pay back to [for] Babylon (Jeremiah 51:24)", meaning that something belongs to someone. To mean "in" (inside), the particle *be* is used, as in "prophets in [inside] Babylon (Jeremiah 29:15)", "the body of exiles of Judah that is in [inside] Babylon (Jeremiah 29:22)". To be precise, those "70 years for Babylon" terminate on the 16 Tishri (12 October) 539.
- Daniel foretold the fall of Babylon just before it happened: *ME'NE, God has numbered [the days of] your kingdom and has finished it. (...) PE'RES, your kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and the Persians (Daniel 5:26-28).* If the "70 years" ended in 539, they effectively began in 609³⁴⁰.

A Babylonian chronicle (BM 21901) dates the final part of the battle of Haran to the 17th year of Nabopolassar, in the month of Duzu³⁴¹ (June-July 609). During that year Assyrian king Ashur-uballit II was killed (as well as Josiah); as Jehoahaz reigned 3 months, Jehoiakim's rule must have begun around Tishri (September/October) 609. Since, the fall of Babylon happened in Tishri 539, Babylon dominated over the world for exactly 70 years. It can be noted that after king Josiah's death, pharaoh Necho II brought the Judean kingdom under subjection and changed the name of its king to Jehoiakim (2Chronicles 36:3-4). The 70 years period is delimited by two events apparently providential: the death of king Josiah (1Kings 13:2; 2Chronicles 35:20-24) and the accession of king Cyrus (Isaiah 43:1, 45:1). Subjection to Egypt lasted for 8 years and was succeeded by subjection to Nebuchadnezzar after the battle of Carkemish. Babylonian domination began in 609 and was exerted on Judah first through Egypt and then directly, from king Jehoiakim's 8th year, 3 years before the end of his rule (2Kings 24:1). The biblical text makes a difference between Babylon's legal rule [starting in 609] and effective Babylonian rule [starting in 601].

King	Rule	Length	Reference
Josiah	640-609	31 years	2Chronicles 34:1
Jehoahaz	-609	3 months	2Chronicles 36:2
Jehoiakim	609-598	11 years	2Chronicles 36:5
Jehoiachin	-598	3 months	2Chronicles 36:9
Zedekiah	598-587	11 years	2Chronicles 36:11
[Gedaliah]*	-587	2 months ?	2Kings 25:25 *[governor]
Jehoiachin	587-561	26 years ?	2Kings 25:27

In the Hebrew Scriptures, Judean kingship legally represented God's authority (1Chronicles 29:23). We can read in the book of Ezekiel: *"Remove the turban [symbolizing the*

³³⁹ See the Danish (or Swedish) version on <http://www.jw.org/en/publications/bible/jeremiah/29#v-10>

³⁴⁰ R.E. WINCKLE – Jeremiah's Seventy Years for Babylon: A Re-assessment in: *Andrews University Seminars Studies* 25:2 (1987) pp. 289-299.

³⁴¹ J.B. PRITCHARD - *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press p. 305.

priesthood], and lift off the crown [symbolizing the kingship]. This will not be the same. Put on high even what is low, and bring low even the high one. A ruin, a ruin, a ruin I shall make it. As for this also, it will certainly become no [one's] until he comes who has the legal right, and I must give [it] to him (Ezekiel 21:26-27) According to the Gospels, Jesus was "he who has the legal right", since we read (Luke 1:32-33): *God will give him the throne of David his father, and he will rule as king over the house of Jacob forever, and there will be no end of his kingdom.* The Septuagint renders Shilo "it belongs to him (Genesis 49:10)" by "for him to which it is reserved". So, when Ezekiel says: *"This will not be the same. Put on high even what is low [the pagan kingdoms], and bring low even the high one [Judean legal kingdom]. A ruin, a ruin, a ruin I shall make it [temple destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar]."* He refers to pharaoh Necho II bringing the Judean kingdom under subjection. Josiah therefore was the last legal king.

In the Bible, a king is considered legal only if he is anointed by God or by one of His representatives (a prophet or a high-priest). All the "legal" kings were appointed in the same way (1Kings 1:39; 2Kings 11:9-12). Otherwise they were illegal and were consequently not buried in the city of David. All Judean kings, from David to Josiah included, were buried in the city of David, excepted Athaliah who was replaced by high-priest Jehoiada (2Chronicles 24:15-16). Athaliah had (illegally) appointed herself as king. She was executed 6 years later (2Kings 11:1-20) and was not buried. Kings after Josiah were illegal kings: Jehoahaz was appointed by the people, Jehoiakim by pharaoh Necho II, and Jehoiachin by Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (2Chronicles 36:1-8). These kings died in exile, excepted Jehoiakim, who nevertheless received "the burial of a he-ass (Jeremiah 22:18-19)". The text stipulates that from Jehoiakim included "he will come to have no one sitting upon the throne of David (Jeremiah 36:30)". Therefore, after Josiah's death, the Judean kingdom legally felt under the control of the nations.

The period of slavery ended when the Babylonian power fell in 539 and Cyrus (in his 1st year (Ezra 1:7-8), i.e. 538 BCE, appointed Zerubbabel (Sheshbazzar) as governor, and not as king. According to the Bible, this appointment was legal because it was God's will. Though the Judean kingship was not restored in 538, it did be rehabilitated. Indeed, high-priest Joshua was remitted the turban, legal symbol of the priesthood, and the crown, legal symbol of the kingship (Zechariah 1:7; 3:5) in 518. We can understand that this kingship was put aside for a future high-priest (Zechariah 6:11-14), Jesus Christ, according to the Gospels, who was to receive the crown (Zechariah 9:9,16). Isaiah also tells about a kingly turban (Isaiah 62:3), thus confirming the paradoxical combination of kingship and priesthood (that was impossible under Mosaic Law, since kingship belonged to the tribe of Judah, and priesthood to the tribe of Levi).

Eusebius saw chronology as of great importance, writing: *For with those authors whose record of times is inconsistent, the history cannot possibly be true* (Preparatio evangelica X:11:5; X:9:3-5; X:10:5; IX:40:11). He compared Babylonian chronology to the biblical one, particularly regarding the 70-year period. He stated: *The 2nd year of Darius coincides with the 1st year of the 65th Olympiad: and the 15th of the reign of Tiberius at Rome falls in with the 4th year of the 201st Olympiad (...)* But since the 70th year of the desolation of the temple in Jerusalem was in the 2nd year of Darius. So, according to Eusebius, the 70 years "of the desolation of the temple" run from 590/589 to 520/519 and were different from the 70 years of Babylonian domination. He said: *Cyrus in the 1st year of his reign, (...) made the first partial dismissal of the people by the hand of Zerubbabel, contemporary with whom was Jesus the son of Josedek, after the completion of the 70 years.* According to Eusebius, the 70 years of Babylonian domination runned from 609/608 to 539/538. He could then add: *Nebuchadnezzar in the 18th year of his reign laid waste our temple, and it remained unregarded 50 years.* Those 50-year desolation of the temple run from 589/588 to 539/538.

There are therefore two periods of 70 years: the "70 years for Babylon", from 609 to 539, meaning that there would be no legal sovereignty in Judah; and the "70 years of desolation", from 587 to 517, meaning that there would be no worship in the temple at Jerusalem. The exile of the people reached its utmost in 587, then strongly decreased in 537 (end of the exile in Babylon) and ended in 517 (return from Egypt and Assyria).

The dates of Artaxerxes' reign and of the 70-year desolation period are controversial. According to the Jubilee calendar, Artaxerxes' reign would have started in 475 and not in 465. This gap is of no consequence for biblical chronology. Moreover, the Persian chronology for this period is unsafe. The biblical text seems to make a distinction between two 70-year periods: one of slavery (the "70 years for Babylon"), and another one (the "70 years of desolation and exile"). Let us check:

- Isaiah 44:28-45:13 relates how this slavery period was to end. He points out five features: The future conqueror of Babylon was 1) to be called Cyrus; 2) to submit the nations; 3) to rebuild Jerusalem; 4) to lay the foundations of the temple; 5) and to free the Jews from their exile in Babylon. *The One saying of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd, and all that I delight in he will completely carry out'; even in [my] saying of Jerusalem, 'She will be rebuilt,' and of the temple, 'You will have your foundation laid. This is what Jehovah has said to his anointed one, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have taken hold of, to subdue before him nations (...) For the sake of my servant Jacob and of Israel my chosen one, I even proceeded to call you by your name; I proceeded to give you a name of honour, although you did not know me (...) I myself have roused up someone in righteousness, and all his ways I shall straighten out. He is the one that will build my city, and those of mine in exile he will let go. Babylonian domination began in 609 and ended in 539. Those "70 years for Babylon" are succeeded by a 2nd period that would close with the end of the exile and the rebuilding of the temple.*
- According to Ezra 1:1-3: *And in the first year of Cyrus the king of Persia, that Jehovah's word from the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, Jehovah roused the spirit of Cyrus the king of Persia so that he caused a cry to pass through all his realm, and also in writing, saying: This is what Cyrus the king of Persia has said: All the kingdoms of the earth Jehovah the God of the heavens has given me, and he himself has commissioned me to build him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever there is among You of all his people, may his God prove to be with him. So let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and rebuild the house of Jehovah the God of Israel. A passage of the Chronicles explains that if the 70 years of slavery in Babylon ended at Cyrus time, the main reason for the desolation (that was still lasting at Cyrus time) was the breaking of the sabbaths.*
- According to 2Chronicles 36:17-23: *So he brought up against them the king of the Chaldeans, who (...) proceeded to burn the house of the [true] God and pull down the wall of Jerusalem (...). Furthermore, he carried off those remaining from the sword captive to Babylon (...) until the royalty of Persia began to reign [in 539]; to fulfil Jehovah's word by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had paid off its sabbaths. All the days of lying desolated it kept sabbath, to fulfil 70 years. And in the 1st year of Cyrus the king of Persia, that Jehovah's word by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished (...) This is what Cyrus the king of Persia has said, 'All the kingdoms of the earth Jehovah the God of the heavens has given me, and he himself has commissioned me to build him a house in Jerusalem.*
- According to Leviticus 26:31-44: *I shall indeed give Your cities to the sword and lay Your sanctuaries desolate (...). And I, for my part, will lay the land desolate (...). And You I shall scatter among the nations (...). At that time the land will pay off its sabbaths [during] all the days of its lying desolated, while You are in the land of Your enemies. At that time the land will keep sabbath, as it must repay its sabbaths. [During all] the days of its lying desolated it will keep sabbath, for the reason that it did not keep sabbath during Your sabbaths when You were dwelling upon it. (...) Yet I, for my part, proceeded to walk in opposition to them, and I had to bring them into the land of their enemies. "Perhaps at that time their uncircumcised heart will be humbled, and at that time they will pay off their error. And I shall indeed remember my covenant (...) and the land I shall remember. All the while the*

land was left abandoned by them and was paying off its sabbaths while it was lying desolated without them and they themselves were paying for their error (...). And yet for all this, while they continue in the land of their enemies, I shall certainly not reject them. According to this text, the desolation period starts with the destruction of the city and of its sanctuary. The land and its temple must stay desolated for 70 years, and this period includes a time of humiliation or of deportation in an enemy country. The exile is included in the 70 years, but its length is not stipulated. It is linked to the desolation, but it differs from it. The beginning of the exile at Babylon is dated to Jehoiachin's 1st year (Ezekiel 40:1), that is 11 years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the last exile is dated to Nebuchadnezzar's 23rd year (Jeremiah 52:30), that is 4 years after the destruction of Jerusalem. However, the exile is at its maximum in 587, the year of the destruction of the temple (Jeremiah 52:28-30). According to the adopted chronology, the exile at Babylon ended in the 50th year of a Jubilee [588 to 538]. This is what Josephus says: *[Berosus] comes down to Nabonassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldeans. And when he was relating the acts of this king, he describes to us how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him; and how, by that means, he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire; nay, and removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transferred them to Babylon; when it so happened that our city was desolate during the interval of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia. (...) These [Berosus] accounts agree with the true histories in our books; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, laid our temple desolate, and so it lay in that state of obscurity for 50 years* (Against Apion I:131-132, 154). Josephus makes a distinction between two periods: one [of slavery] of 70 years which starts at the end of Nabopolassar's reign and which ends at the beginning of Cyrus' reign, and another period of 50 years which starts at the destruction of the temple and ends with the liberation by Cyrus and his command to rebuild the temple (Ezra 1:1-2). Eusebius (Preparatio evangelica IX:40:11; X:9:3-5; X:10:3-6) also distinguishes between several periods: two periods of 70 years and another one lasting 50 years. There are the "70 years for Babylon" from 609 to 539 and the "70 years of desolation" when there was no cult rendered in the temple at Jerusalem from 587 to 537. Although Mordecai (Esther 2:6) was still called a son of the exile under Xerxes' reign around 470, the bulk of the exiles had gone back to Jerusalem between 537 and 517.

- Zechariah's book throws some light on the link between the "70 years for Babylon" which end with the fall of Babylon and the "70 years of desolation" which begin with the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple.
- According to Zechariah 1:7, 12, 16: *On the 24th day of the 11th month, that is, the month Shebat, in the 2nd year of Darius (...) the angel of Jehovah answered and said: "O Jehovah of armies, how long will you yourself not show mercy to Jerusalem and to the cities of Judah, whom you have denounced these 70 years? (...) I shall certainly return to Jerusalem with mercies. My own house will be built in her (...) and a measuring line itself will be stretched out over Jerusalem.* This message (dated to January/February 520) announced the near end of the 70 years of desolation and the oncoming completion of the temple and rebuilding of Jerusalem.
- According to Zechariah 7:1-5: *And it came to pass in the 4th year of king Darius, that the word of Jehovah came unto Zechariah in the 4th day of the 9th month, even in Chislev. (...) Should I weep in the 5th month, separating myself, as I have done these so many years?(...) Speak unto all the people of the land, and to the priests, saying, When ye fasted and mourned in the 5th and in the 7th month, even these 70 years, did ye at all fast unto me, even to me? (1901 American Standard Version).* The words "these 70 years" in Zechariah 7:5 are the same as in Zechariah 1:12. They may be understood in two ways: "[in relation with] those 70 years", or "[during] those 70 years". The first meaning goes better with the context of Zechariah 1:12, the declaration being

dated to Darius' 4th year [518], soon before the end of the 70-year desolation. Moreover, the fast of the 5th month that marked the destruction of the temple in 587 (beginning of the desolation) was still observed in 518, since we read: "Shall I weep in the fifth month?" and not "Had I to weep in the 5th month?" This 70-years span was to end with the liberation of the captives (end of the Jubilee) and with the rebuilding of the temple, an expression of God's mercy according to Jeremiah. The temple was inaugurated soon thereafter, in Darius' 6th year (Ezra 6:15-16). The twofold period of 70 years is confirmed by a passage from Daniel.

- According to Daniel 9:1,2,17-24: *In the 1st year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, (...) I myself, Daniel, discerned by the books the number of the years concerning which the word of Jehovah had occurred to Jeremiah the prophet, for fulfilling the devastations of Jerusalem, [namely,] 70 years. (...) And now listen, O our God, to the prayer of your servant and to his entreaties, and cause your face to shine upon your sanctuary that is desolated (...). Do open your eyes and see our desolated conditions and the city that has been called by your name.* Let us say first that Darius the Mede is called Ugbaru in a Babylonian tablet³⁴²; he ruled over Babylon and appointed governors (Daniel 6:1) during the 5 last months of his reign and died at the end of his 1st year of reign, on the 11 Arahsammu (November 538). So, one year after the destruction of Babylon, Daniel explains that the 70 years would also be the length of the desolation (which was to end in 517, since the temple was destroyed in 587).

The words "desolated and devastated land" are controversial, for they can mean either a "land deserted and without inhabitants" (literal meaning) or a "land without worshippers" (religious meaning). The biblical text favours the second meaning. Indeed, the start (as well as the end) of the literal exile cannot be dated accurately, since it expands between Nebuchadnezzar's 7th and 23rd year (Jeremiah 52:28-30) and the exile was still going on at Esther's time (Esther 2:6) around 470. However, the length of the religious exile (the period when there were "no worshippers") is easier to settle, since it runs from the destruction of the temple to the "liberation of the captives" on the 50th year of the Jubilee (religious meaning). The words "causing desolation (Daniel 9:27)" was understood by the Jews as the disappearance of the sacrifices in the temple (and consequently of the worshippers) and not as the disappearance of the inhabitants. When we read "by reason of my house that is waste, while you are on the run, each one in behalf of his own house (Haggai 1:1,9)", text written in Darius' 2nd year, that is on 520, we may understand also that the temple was waste of worshippers, not of people. This religious meaning is used in Ezekiel 29:10-12 where it is said that Egypt would be "desolate waste (...) for 40 years". This could not be understood in a literal way (a deporting of all Egyptian people in a foreign land would have left some traces). But the religious meaning "without worshippers (Ezekiel 30:7,13)" is appropriate, since Jeremiah states that the sign (the 40-year period was beginning) would be pharaoh Hophra's death (Jeremiah 44:29,30; Ezekiel 30:20-22), exactly as Zedekiah's death marked the end of the worship in the temple. Pharaoh Hophra (whom Egyptian were viewing as a living god) was replaced in 570 by Amasis, a mere general, who ruled from 569 to 526. Pharaoh Hophra died a few years after the beginning of Amasis' reign, probably in 566, his death being reported as occurring soon after Amasis' 3rd year [567]³⁴³. Egypt then had no visible god (Pharaoh) between 566 and 526. Herodotus wrote: *It is said however that Amasis, even when he was in a private station, was a lover of drinking and of jesting, and not at all seriously disposed (...) when finally he became king he did as follows:-as many of the gods as had absolved him and pronounced him not to be a thief, to their temples he paid no regard, nor gave*

³⁴² J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts
Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press p. 306.

³⁴³ G. DARESSY - Stèle de l'an III d'Amasis
in: Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie Paris 1900 pp. 1-9.

anything for the further adornment of them, nor even visited them to offer sacrifice, considering them to be worth nothing and to possess lying Oracles (The Histories II:174).

The role of the Jubilee to mark the end of a captivity is a recurrent theme in the Bible. When Zerubbabel was appointed, Ezra 1:1-3 says: *And in the 1st year of Cyrus [538] (...) Whoever there is among YOU of all his people, may his God prove to be with him. So let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and rebuild the house of Jehovah the God of Israel-be is the [true] God-which was in Jerusalem.* Zerubbabel's mission was twofold: To gather the Jews (Nehemiah 1:8-9; 7:5) and to rebuild the temple (Ezra 3:1-2): *And it must occur in that day that there will be the root of Jesse [Zerubbabel] that will be standing up as a signal for the peoples [in 538]. To him even the nations will turn inquiringly, and his resting-place must become glorious [the temple will be rebuilt]. (...) to acquire the remnant of his people who will remain over from Assyria and from Egypt and from Pathros and from Cush and from Elam and from Shinar and from Hamath and from the islands of the sea. And he will certainly raise up a signal for the nations and gather the dispersed ones of Israel; and the scattered ones of Judah he will collect together from the four extremities of the earth* (Isaiah 11:10-12). The gathering of the dispersed ones would end by a Jubilee: *"The spirit of the Sovereign Lord Jehovah is upon me [Zerubbabel according to Zechariah 4:6-14], for the reason that Jehovah has anointed me to tell good news to the meek ones. He has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to those taken captive [in 518/517 a Jubilee will put an end to the desolation] and the wide opening [of the eyes] even to the prisoners (...) And they must rebuild the long-standing devastated places; they will raise up even the desolated places of former times, and they will certainly make anew the devastated cities, the places desolate* (Isaiah 61:1-4).

According to the Gospels, Zerubbabel's mission foretold in details Jesus' one. We read in Luke that Jesus proclaimed a year of liberation to come (Luke 4:18), and John reports that this liberation (Jubilee year) was to exceed a traditional Jubilee (John 8:36). This year of liberation is linked to Jesus' death (Romans 8:2) in 33 CE, which marked a Jubilee (the one of 133 CE is well attested³⁴⁴). The Biblical chronology, based on Jubilee cycles, then is independent from other chronologies.

This chronology ends with Jesus' death, that can be dated with absolute certainty. Indeed, the book of Acts tells about heavenly phenomena which happened at Jesus' death: *the sun will be turned into darkness and the moon into blood* (Acts 2:20). Luke 23:44 points out that the darkness lasted 3 hours (much longer than a solar eclipse, which cannot exceed 7 minutes and 30 seconds). Several authors report this surprising event, as Thallus, a Samaritan historian of the 1st century, in the third book of his History. Quoting Thallus, Julius Africanus³⁴⁵ wrote towards 220 CE: *On the whole world there pressed a most fearful darkness; and the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many places in Judea and other districts were thrown down.* Phlegon of Tralles, a Greek historian of the 2nd century, adds a points that is reported by Eusebius: *In the 4th year, however, of Olympiad 202, an eclipse of the sun happened, greater and more excellent than any that had happened before it; at the sixth hour, day turned into dark night, so that the stars were seen in the sky, and an earthquake in Bithynia toppled many buildings of the city of Nicaea*³⁴⁶. The 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad goes from July 32 to July 33 CE. Generally speaking, during a lunar eclipse, the moon looks blood-red³⁴⁷: this is the more natural explanation to the text of Acts. Indeed, there was a partial lunar eclipse on Friday 3rd April 33. This lunar eclipse began at 3.40 p.m. and was visible from Jerusalem from 5.50 to 6.30 p.m. This

³⁴⁴ J. FINEGAN - Handbook of Biblical Chronology
Massachusetts 1999 Ed. Hendrickson Publishers pp. 125,126.

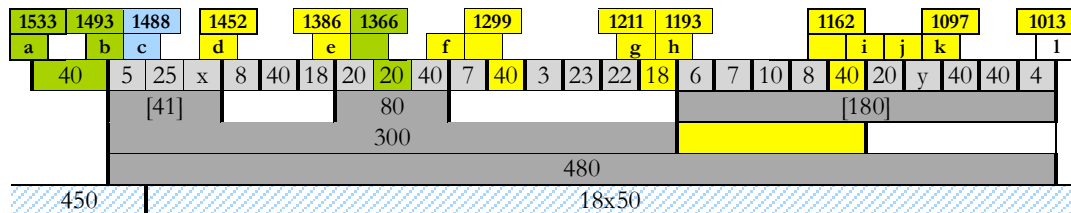
³⁴⁵ JULIUS AFRICANUS - Chronographia
Turnhout 1966 Ed. Brepols (Migne) Patrologia Graecae t. X p. 91.

³⁴⁶ EUSEBE - Chronicorum
Paris 1857 Patrologia Graecae XIX Ed. Migne p. 535.

³⁴⁷ J.P. PARISOT, F. SUAGHER - Calendriers et chronologie
Paris 1996 Éd. Masson pp. 165, 166.

allows us to confirm with certainty the date of Friday 14th Nisan 33 found in the Gospels as the day Jesus died. The Jubilee began on 1st Nisan 33, was celebrated on 10th Tishri 33 and ended on 1st Nisan 34. Then the Jubilee of 517 goes from Nisan 518 to Nisan 517, since there is no year 0 in history.

THE PERIOD OF JUDGES (1500-1000 BCE)



- Exodus from Egypt and start of 40-year wandering in the wilderness of Sinai before entering Canaan (Exodus 16:35).
- Israel comes out of the Sinai and enters Canaan; beginning of a 300-year period which will end with Jephthah's vow (Judges 11:26,30). Caleb enters Canaan when he is 80 years old and the country is pacified when he is 85 years old (Joshua 14:7,10).
- Joshua, as old as Caleb, died 110 years old (Joshua 13:1; II Samuel 19:32; Joshua 24:29). The following period [x] is unknown, but it may be reckoned. Indeed, the generation which entered to Canaan with Joshua was to take possession of the country (Judges 2:6-10), now as the preceding generation had lasted 40 years (Numbers 32:13), that makes it possible to suppose that: $[40] = 5 + [25] + x$ ($25 = 110 - 85$). In fact calculation gives $x = 11$ year, because $300 = 5 + 25 + x + 8 + 40 + 18 + 20 + 20 + 40 + 7 + 40 + 3 + 23 + 22 + 18$. Joshua gives Israelites the pacificated Canaan country (Joshua 11:23); start of the Jubilee cycle to cancel the debts and free the captives every 50 years (Leviticus 25:8-11). The cycle starts when Canaan is given to Israelites, that is 5 years after they entered the Promised Land (Deuteronomy 6:10,11; Joshua 14:7,10).
- Cushan-rishataim, a king probably from Mitanni, oppressed Israel for 8 years, then Othniel judges for 40 years, then Eglon, a Moabite king, oppressed Israel for 18 years, then Ehud judges the country (Judges 3:8-15).
- Ehud starts a period of peace for 80 years (Judges 3:30) in the South (Judea), which ends by 40 years of full peace (Judges 5:31) preceded by 20 years of oppression in the North (Samaria) by Jabin (Judges 4:3), a Canaanite king of Hazor. Ehud then Shamgar judge for the 20 first years of full peace and Barak the last 40 years (Judges 3:26-31, 4:22-24).
- The country of Midian oppressed Israel for 7 years, then Gideon judges for 40 years, then Abimelech is king for 3 years, then Tola judges for 23 years and at the last, Jair judges for 22 years (Judges 6:1, 8:28, 9:22, 10:1-3).
- Jair judges Israel for 22 years, but after his death no judge succeeds him and the land is given over to oppression by Philistines, Ammonites, Egyptians, etc. This period of trouble begins on 1211 and gets Israel in great distress for 18 years (Judges 10:3-13).
- Jephthah as a judge over Israel for 6 years, Ibzan for 7 years, Elon for 10 years, Abdon for 8 years. Then follows a 40-year period of oppression by the Philistines (Judges 12:7-13:1). The period of 176 years from Jephthah to Solomon may be calculated by two ways, first: $176 = 480 - 300 - 4$, then (see period of Judges) $176 = 6 + 7 + 10 + 8 + 40 + 20 + 5 + 40 + 40$.
- Samson, who acts as a judge for 20 years, puts an end to oppression by the Philistines (Judges 13:5; 16:31). The ark of the covenant is captured by the Philistines, then given

- j) Undetermined period (x) between the temporary end of idols use and Samuel defeating the Philistines. This period takes place before Saul's reign (1Samuel 7:4,13; 9:15-16).
- k) Saul rules for 40 years³⁴⁹ (Acts 13:21), then David for 40 years (2Samuel 5:4).
- l) Solomon rules for 40 years. A 480-year period that begins at the Exodus from Egypt terminates in his 4th year of reign (1Kings 6:1; 11:42).

39	40	41								79	80	81	82	83	84	85				
	1	2								40	41	42	43	44	45					
											1	2	3	4	5	6	7		49	50

The 480 years are controversial. It can be read: *And it came about in the four hundred and eightieth year after the sons of Israel came out from the land of Egypt, in the fourth year, in the month of Ziv, that is, the second month, after Solomon became king over Israel* (1Kings 6:1). We might conclude that the period began after Israel left the country of Goshen, in Egypt. But this would contradict other biblical data. Indeed, if we calculate the time starting before (and not after) the 40 years in the wilderness of Sinai, we find: 40 + 300 + 6 + 7 + 10 + 8 + 40 + 20 + 40 + 40 + 4 = 515 + x. If 515 + x = 480, x = -35! Actually, the wilderness of Sinai belonged to Egypt since it was located before the torrent valley of Egypt which marked its border (2Kings 24:7). Israelites therefore definitely leaved Egypt when they crossed this torrent valley (after having spent 40 years in the wilderness)³⁵¹. According to this view, we can calculate: 475 + x = 480, and then x = 5 years. The translators of the Septuagint, who

³⁵¹ The Israelites who died in the wilderness (Numbers 26:65) had desired to die in Egypt repeatedly (Exodus 14:11; 16:3). This paradoxical wish has been fulfilled.

knew about this 480-year period beginning at the Exodus from Egypt and ending after (not before) the 40 years in the wilderness amended the figure to 440 years ($= 480 - 40$)³⁵². According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Megilla 72cd), the time of the conquest of Canaan would have been 7 years, and the sanctuary at Shiloh 369 years, which gives: $480 = 7 + 369 + 20 + 40 + 4$ (in fact: $480 = 5 + 366 + 20 + 5 + 40 + 40 + 4$)³⁵³.

Occurrence of different spans between two seemingly identical events can be found also about the ark when it was moved from Kiriath-jearim. The ark was brought in this city where it stayed for 20 years. We also read that David decided to bring the ark back from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem (1Chronicles 13:5) after Saul's 40-year reign. Where are those 40 years to be found? It may be that meanwhile the ark was moved to Baale-judah, a city near Kiriath-jearim (2Samuel 6:2), or to Gibeah (1Samuel 7:1) according to the Vulgate. The words "in the Hill (Joshua 24:33)" are strange indeed, because *ba-guibeah* generally is translated "in Gibeah (1Samuel 22:6)". The city of Gibeah was geographically near from Kiriath-jearim. Moreover, Saul requested the ark to be brought to him when he was in Gibeah (1Samuel 14:16-18).

According to the biblical chronology, the (anonymous) pharaoh who confronted Moses died in 1533. The departure from Egypt, which began in Ramses city, is dated to 15/I (Numbers 33:3). As the arrival in the Wilderness of Sin is dated 15/II (Exodus 16:1) and the final confrontation took place near Pihahiroth (Exodus 14:9), midway between Rameses and the Wilderness of Sin, pharaoh's death should have occurred on 1/II, i.e. 9/10th May 1533. A later biblical text (Ezechiel 32:2,7,8, Psalms 136:15) mentions pharaoh's tragic death and links it with a solar eclipse: *Son of man, lift up a dirge concerning Pharaoh the king of Egypt, and you must say to him, 'As a maned young lion of nations you have been silenced. And you have been like the marine monster in the seas (...). And when you get extinguished I will cover [the] heavens (...). All the luminaries of light in the heavens – I shall darken them on your account, and I will put darkness upon your land.* This text alludes to the Pharaoh of the Exodus, because the expression "marine monster" always appoints this leader (Isaiah 51:9-10). The expression "All the luminaries of light in the heavens [sun and moon]" has probably a symbolic meaning, but could not be understood by Jews only if it had also a literal meaning. Since pharaoh was considered a god by Egyptians, the son of the sun-god Ra, the eclipse (and also the moonless night) should have impressed the people. The only total solar eclipse in this part of the world and at this time³⁵⁴ occurred on 9th May 1533. A total sun eclipse in a given area is very rare. Between -1500 and -100, for example, there were only 11 total eclipses on the territory of Israel during this period, that is to say on average every 120 years³⁵⁵. This eclipse of magnitude 1.08 (covering a strip of land 250 km wide) could be seen in Northern Egypt (at the level of Heracleopolis city) around 4.40 p.m. and lasted more than 6 minutes. The date of 1/II thus agrees perfectly with the eclipse date. The spring equinox fell on 3rd April 1533³⁵⁶; the following first crescent of the moon³⁵⁷ is dated to 10/11th April, and the first crescent of the following month is dated to 9/10th May. Egyptian chronology, which is based on sothic rises, also dates to May 1533 the violent death of pharaoh Seqenenre after confronting Apopi, the Hyksos king who went off to Palestine. The other pivotal date comes from the book of Acts where heavenly phenomena are mentioned in connection with Jesus' death: *The sun will be turned into darkness and the moon into blood* (Actes 2:20). Usually, the moon does look blood-red during a lunar eclipse (the

³⁵² From the output of Egypt (-1533) marking the beginning of Exodus to Solomon's 4th year (in -1013) there are 520 years ($= 480 + 40$).

³⁵³ The duration of the conquest of Canaan is 5 years and the duration of the sanctuary at Shiloh is 366 years ($= 1488 - 1122$), because the sanctuary installed just after the conquest of Canaan (Joshua 18:1), in -1488, disappeared at the death of the high priest Eli (1 Samuel 4:1-7:1) in -1122.

³⁵⁴ <http://suncearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/SEcat/SE-1599--1500.html>

³⁵⁵ F.R. STEPHENSON – Astronomical Verification and Dating of Old Testament

in: *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 107 (1975) pp. 107-117

³⁵⁶ <http://www.imcce.fr/page.php?nav=fr/ephemerides/astronomic/saisons/index.php>

³⁵⁷ <http://portail.imcce.fr/fr/ephemerides/astronomic/Promenade/pages4/441.html>

more natural explanation for the above passage³⁵⁸). The only lunar eclipse which was visible from Jerusalem on a Friday between 30 and 33 C.E. was the one dated Friday 3rd April 33.

THE PATRIARCAL PERIOD (2000-1500 BCE)

2038		1963	1938	1933	1878	1788	1748	1678		1573	1533	1493	1488
a		b	c	d	e	f	g	h		i	j	k	l
			5				400						
	75	25		150		40		215		40	5		
	100			60	90		110	105	40				
							430						
	100							450					

- Birth of Abraham.
- Abraham enters Canaan when he is 75 years old (Genesis 12:4-5); 430-year alien residence begins (Exodus 12:40-41).
- Birth of Isaac, ancestor of the people of Israel, when Abraham is 100 years old (Genesis 21:5); 450-year period begins (Acts 13:17-20).
- Isaac is weaned at 5 years old³⁵⁹; 400 years of affliction³⁶⁰ begin (Genesis 15:13). This period starts when Isaac is persecuted by Agar's son³⁶¹ (Genesis 21:8-9) and ends with the Exodus from Egypt and the end of slavery³⁶² (Galatians 4:25-29).
- Birth of Jacob when Isaac is 60 years old (Genesis 25:26).
- Birth of Joseph in Jacob's 91st year since he is 130 years old (Genesis 41:46-47, 53-54; 45:11; 47:9) when Joseph is 39 (= 30 years + 7 years of plenty + 2 years of famine).
- Israelites (Jacob and his family, 75 individuals) come to Egypt in Joseph's 40th year (Genesis 45:11; 46:5-7); beginning of a 215-year dwelling.
- Joseph dies in 1678, when he is 110 years old. Israelite chiefs appointed by Joseph and later on by pharaohs as kings (Great Hyksos) administrate the land of Goshen for 105 years (Genesis 47:6; Exodus 5:14).
- Exodus from Egypt and beginning of 40-year wandering in the wilderness of Sinai before entering Canaan (Exodus 16:35). Moses stands as the last "great personality in Egypt", because although he was considered as "pharaoh's son" for 40 years until 1573 (Exodus 2:15; 11:3; Deuteronomy 34:7).
- Moses was banished for 40 years before coming back to Egypt³⁶³ (Hebrew 11:24; Acts 7:21-23, 29-36).
- Israel comes out of Sinai and enters Canaan; beginning of a 5-year pacification period (Joshua 14:7,10) ending in 1488 BCE and fixes the beginning of Jubilees (every 50 years). Moses died at 120 years (Deuteronomy 34:1-7).
- Joshua closes pacification of Canaan.

The 430-year period is controversial. We read: *And the dwelling of the sons of Israel, who had dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years* (Exodus 12:40). Does that mean that Israel dwelt in Egypt for 430 years? This would contradict other biblical data. Jewish translators of the Septuagint were aware of this ambiguity and thus choose to add an interpolation in order to prevent any misunderstanding: *The dwelling of the sons of Israel which they dwelt in the*

³⁵⁸ J.P. PARISOT, F. SUAGHER - Calendriers et chronologie
Paris 1996 Éd. Masson pp. 165, 166.

³⁵⁹ According to 2Maccabees 7:27, breastfeeding usually lasted at least 3 years (see 2Chronicles 31:16).

³⁶⁰ The 400-year period begins with the oppression of Isaac and not from his birth.

³⁶¹ The meaning of the Hebrew verb is "mocking" and not "play". The Talmud (Sotah 6:6) even mentions of abuse.

³⁶² According to Maimonides (Epistle to Yemen III) and Rashi, the 400 years run from birth of Isaac to the departure from Egypt.

³⁶³ It is possible that Moses knowing the prophecy of Neferty stated under Amenemhat I (1775-1746), similar to the 400 years' prophecy of Genesis 15:13, wanted to achieve it in 1575 BCE (= 1775 - 400), 40 years too early.

land of Egypt [and in the land of Canaan] was four hundred and thirty years long. This interpolation, that is also found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, is in keeping with the context which says that the 430-year period covers the total span of the painful dwelling of the sons of Israel outside the Mosaic covenant (Galatians 3:17). This period does include two parts: the first one starts in Canaan with the Abrahamic covenant rapidly followed by harassment of Isaac by Esau (Genesis 21:9), and ends when Jacob left for Egypt. The second one begins with the slavery in Egypt and terminates with the Exodus. The above verse should then be read as follows: *And the dwelling of the sons of Israel, who had dwelt in Egypt [for 215 years], was 430 years long.* Joshua's genealogy indirectly confirms this 215-year period (1Chronicles 7:23-28). Joshua was 40 years old when Israel fled Egypt (Joshua 14:7) in 1533 BCE. Then he should have been born about 1573 BCE. Assessing 20 years elapse between every generation, we get the following dates of birth:

Jacob	Father in
Joseph	-1760
Ephraim	-1740
Beriah	-1720
Rephah	-1700
Resheph-Telah	-1680
Tahan	-1660
Ladan	-1640
Ammihud	-1620
Elishama	-1600
Nun	-1580
Joshua	-1560
(Exodus)	-1540

As Joseph was 17 years old when he came in Egypt (Genesis 37:2), the period of time from his marriage in -1758 (Genesis 41:45-46) to the Exodus in -1533 amounts to 225 years (= 1758 – 1533), which are fully consistent with the 215 years that have just been calculated. This chronological point was known in antiquity, since Josephus (Jewish Antiquities II:318) refers to it in its works. Demetrius, already knew (around 220 BCE) that the period in Canaan lasted 215 years (Preparatio evangelica IX:21:16). The biblical chronology therefore sets rather precisely the date of the Exodus from Egypt in -1533.

Israelite ruler	period	#	12 th Dynasty	reign	#	synchronism
Abraham	2038 -	175	Amenemhat I	1975 -		
	1963-1957			-1946		<i>Founding of Tanis</i>
	- 1863					
Jacob	1878 -	147	Neferusebek	1782-1778		
	-1731		13 th Dynasty			
Joseph	1788 -	110		1778-1573		
(vizier)	1758-1744		<i>Asiatics son of Hetepibre</i>	1765-1750		<i>Hyksos</i>
			14 th Dynasty			
	-1678			1750-1679		
			15 th Dynasty	1679	400	<i>Stele of year 400</i>
Chiefs of cattle	1678-1613	65	Great Hyksos	1679-1613		<i>The Histories II:128</i>
Moses (pharaoh)	1613-1573	40	Apopi	1613-1573		106 years
Moses (in Madian)	1573 -	40	17 th Dynasty / 16 th Dynasty			
			Rahotep	1573-1569		
			Sobekemsaf I	1569-1567		
			Sobekemsaf II	1567-1557		
			Antef VI	1557-1555		
			Antef VII	1555-1545		
			Antef VIII	1545-1545		
			Senakhtenre	1545-1544		
	-1533		Sequenre Taa	1544- 1533		
Moses (Exodus)	1533 -	40	Kamose	1533-1530		<i>War of the Hyksos</i>
			18 th Dynasty			
	-1493		Ahmose	1530-1505		
Joshua	1493 -	30	Amenhotep I	1505 -1484		
	-1463		Thutmose I	1484-1472		
			Thutmose II	1472-1469		
<i>Without Judge</i>	1463-1452	11	[Hatshepsut]	[1469-1450]		
Cushan-Rishataim	1452-1444	8	Thutmose III	1469-1418		
Othniel	1444-1404	40	Amenhotep II	1420-1392		
Eglon	1404-1386	18	Thutmose IV	1392-1383		
Ehud/ Shamgar	1386-1366	20	Amenhotep III	1383- 1345		
Jabin/ (Sisera)	1366- 1346	20	Akhenaton	1356 -		<i>War of Apirius</i>
Barak	1346 -	40		-1340		
			Semenkhkare	1340- 1338		
			-Ankhkheperure	1338-1336		
			Tutankhamon	1336- 1327		
	-1306		Aÿ	1327-1323		
Madian	1306-1299	7	Horemheb	1323-1295		
			19 th Dynasty			
Gedeon	1299 -	40	Ramses I	1295-1294		
	-1259		Sety I	1294 -1283		
			Ramses II	1283 -		
Abimelek	1259-1256	3		(-1279)		
Tola	1256-1233	23				
Jair	1233-1211	22		-1216		
<i>Anarchy</i>	1211 -	18	Merenptah	1216-1207		<i>Stele of Israel</i>
			Sety II	1207-1202		
			[Amenmes]	[1206-1202]		
			Siptah	1202 -1196		
			-Tausert	1196-1194		
	-1193		20 th Dynasty			
Jephthah	1193-1187	6	Sethnakht	1196-1192		
Ibzan	1187-1180	7	Ramses III	1192 -		
Elon	1180-1170	10				

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO AN ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY
THROUGH SYNCHRONISMS DATED BY ASTRONOMY

Abdon	1170-1162	8		-1161		
[Eli] <i>Philistines</i>	1162 -	40	Ramses IV	1161 -1155		
			Ramses V	1154-1151		
			Ramses VI	1151-1144		
			Ramses VII	1144-1137		
			Ramses VIII	1137-1137		
	-1122		Ramses IX	1137-1119		
Samson	1122-1102	20	Ramses X	1119-1116		
Samuel's sons	1102-1097	5	Ramses XI	1116-1090		
Saul	1097 -	40	[Herihor]	[1098-1085]		
			21 th Dynasty			
			Smendes	1090-1064		
	-1057		Amenemnesut	[1064-1060]		
David	1057-1017	40	Psusennes I	1064-1018		
Solomon	1017 -	40	Amenemope	1018-1009		
			Osorkon the Elder	1009-1003		
	(-993)		Siamon	1003 - 984		<i>Gezer attacked</i>
			Psusennes II/III	994-980		
	-977		22 th Dynasty			
Rehoboam	977-960	17	Shoshenq I	980-959		<i>Campaign in Palestine</i>
Abiyam	960-957	3	Osorkon I	959 -		
Asa	957 -	41		-924		
			Shoshenq II	924-922		
			Shoshenq IIb	-922		
	-916		Takelot I	922 -		
Jehoshaphat	916 -	25		-909		
	-891		Osorkon II	909 -		
Jehosaphat/Jehoram	[893-891]	[2]				
Jehoram	893-885	8				
[Athaliah] Jehoyada	885-879	6				
Joash	879 -	40		-865		
	-839		Takelot II	865 -840		
Amasiah	839-810	29	Shoshenq III	840 -		
Uzziah	810 -	52		-800		
[Azariah]	[796 -		Shoshenq IV	800-788		
	-758		Pamiu	788-782		
			Shoshenq V	782 -		
Jotham	758-742	16		-745		
Ahaz	742-726	16	Osorkon IV	745 -		<i>Alliance with Sô</i>
Hezekiah	726 -	29		-712		
			25 th Dynasty			
	-697		Chabataka	712 -		
Manasseh	697 -	55		-689		
			Taharqa	689- 663		
			26 th Dynasty			
	-642		Psammetichus I	663 -		
Amon	642-640	2				
Josias	640 -	31		-609		
	-609		Necho II	609 -		<i>Death of Josias</i>
Jehoiachim	609-598	11		-594		
Zedekiah	598-587	11	Psammetichus I	594-588		
Jehoiachin (exile)	587 -	26	Apries	588-570		
			Apries/ Amasis	569-567		
	-561		Amasis	569-526		
			Psammetichus III	526- 525		
			27 th Dynasty			